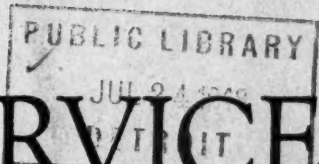


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THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND
PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF SOCIAL WORK

Edited by

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OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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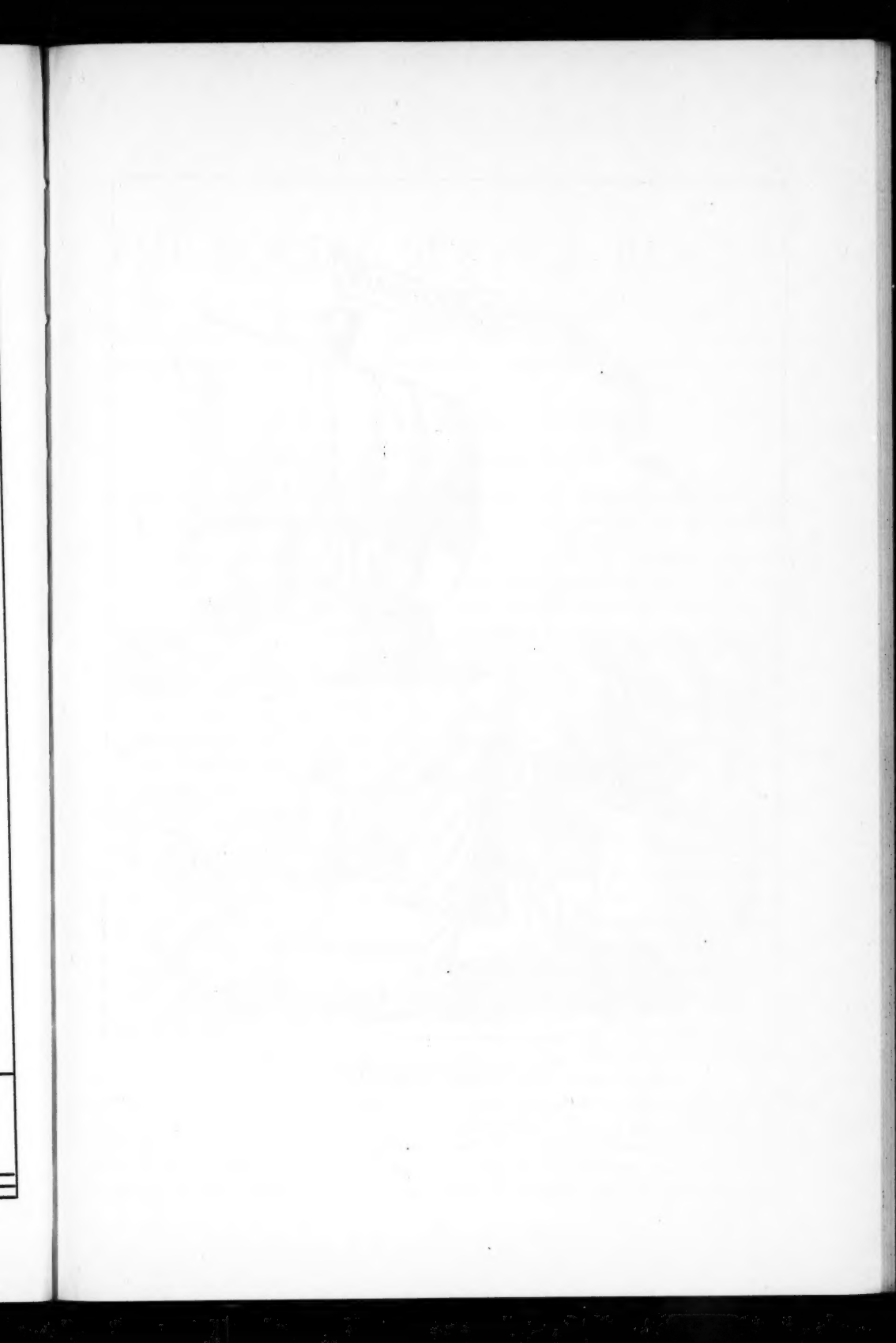
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"I SAW A SHIP A-SAILING"

See p. 240)

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Volume XXII

JUNE 1948

Number 2

POSTWAR SOCIAL SERVICES IN BERLIN

DAVID R. HUNTER AND HOWARD R. STUDD

BERLIN nearly three years after the "collapse" is physically still a shambles. Its social fabric is worn and torn. It is an island and a prison. Its population is distorted and out of balance. Its economy is truncated and wastefully consumes its own inner substance. The energies of its people are spent in pursuit of a loaf of bread and a pair of shoes. Its political currents are filled with hate and distrust, fear and uncertainty. Hope is alien. The green shoots of independent and creative thinking are too often trampled by the dominating demands of partisanship. In Berlin's unhealthy and abnormal political environment ideas and policies tend to become categorized. The "if you're not for us you're agin us" motif pervades almost every area of social activity.

Berlin has all this and the Allies too.

Our vantage point from which to survey the welfare picture is that of two American social workers in military government, members of the staff of the Public Welfare Branch charged with the responsibility of overseeing the rehabilitation of public and private welfare programs along "democratic lines." The temptation to judge by the standards with which we are familiar is strong, and, although we have attempted to be objec-

tive and stick to substantiated facts, we can only look through eyes which have seen what they have seen.

In the beginning the Allies wrote the basic directives setting policy. Since the early days of the occupation, in the belief that learning must come from doing, more and more authority has been turned back to the Germans. In the United States Zone of Occupation this process has gone farther than in any of the other zones. But in Berlin, occupied jointly by the four Allies, progress toward this goal has been slow and painful.

Prior to the Nazi period, Germany was far ahead of many countries of the world in its recognition of the state's responsibility to assure its citizens a minimum security. This was reflected in broad social insurance programs as well as in the acceptance of the responsibility of the state to assist persons in need. The individual service aspects of social service, however, were far less developed. The role of the private agency was also quite different from that which has been commonly accepted in the United States.

After Hitler came to power, no organization which did not prostrate itself before the Nazi objectives could function. In the social insurance programs there was an intensification and elaboration of

the stratification of benefits according to the recipient's usefulness to the Nazi state. The same was true with reference to public assistance, favoritism being manifested by variations in grants and restrictions in eligibility. Some of the private organizations, notably the German Red Cross, leaped to the service of the Führer with enthusiasm. Some like the Arbeiterwohlfahrt (Workers Welfare) were immediately abolished. Others went along.

After the holocaust the people who were left were faced with the overpowering task of gathering the scraps of organizations and resources out of the rubble and, with meager reward, of attempting to cope with the immense human needs of a battered and bleeding social organism.

Young people were gone. Old and tired people who were somehow still alive had to do the job. There are many whose courage and tenacity in the face of impossibilities and their own weariness should be known. Professional people came back out of clerks' and storekeepers' jobs; they came out of concentration camps, out of hiding, out of military service—to take up the exhausting toil of rebuilding the structures of social service.

The first step forward was to set the clock back. Nazi laws and policies were abolished, and prior legislation again came into effect. Personnel had to be found who were politically clean. Locating office space in a demolished city was an Augean labor. Normally small and easily accomplished tasks were and are problems to be solved with ingenuity and improvisation. It is difficult for a tired swimmer, pumping desperately to keep his head above water, to give much serious thought to the new path he will take

when he is once again on the shore. And that is social work in Berlin today.

PUBLIC WELFARE

The organization of public welfare activities in Berlin is not radically different from many American cities. The basic legislation, although cumbersome and involved, is better than in many American communities. Relief standards, relative to insurance benefits and minimum wages, are not bad (although money figures alone do not mean much as fabulous sums are required to buy goods on the black market). The Central Welfare Department (Hauptsozialamt) corresponds quite closely in its departmental divisions to a familiar American public welfare department. Within the Central Welfare Department and within each of its twenty borough offices (Verwaltungsbezirke) are five principal branches: Administration (including research and statistics), General Relief, Child Welfare, and two war-born branches—Returnees and Resettlers and Office for Victims of Fascism.

In the service aspects of the public welfare job lie the most basic differences. Case work in the relationship between client and administration is almost unknown. Although the term is used, its meaning is to case work in New York as H_2O is to the formula for nuclear fission. Most of the actual contact with the client is through the volunteer members of the borough social commissions. Part of this overmechanization is the result of the pressures of the present day but it is also true that the foundations for case work services in public welfare do not exist in the German tradition.

Legislation.—The legislative base for public assistance in Berlin is the 1924 Public Welfare Law, passed during the time of the Weimar Republic. As the re-

sult of the abrogation of all Nazi legislation this law remains effective.

It is a long and complicated piece of legislation, devoting many paragraphs to sorting out the responsibility for relief payments among geographical governmental units. For example, about a hundred words state that if an illegitimate child becomes destitute in the first six months of life, that district shall be responsible for support in which the mother lived ten months before the birth.

The acceptance of public responsibility for assistance to destitute people, however, could be no more complete. "Any person in a state of distress shall be supported from public funds." Oddly, this fundamental statement does not appear until far along in the text of the law after provision for special categories has been made, appeal procedures set out, and relief standards defined.

Postwar relief standards in Berlin are uniform, and the provisions of the 1924 law which set up discriminatory rates have been abrogated. One example of former multiple standards was the provision that "Kleinrentner [middle-class people who had lost their savings in the inflation] would receive an appropriately higher grant." Under the original law of 1924 the new poor were different from those who had always been so. This is no longer true in postwar Berlin.

Another interesting feature of the governing 1924 law is the fact that "the recipient is required to refund the amounts expended for him by the welfare department." This was qualified to the extent that if the client did not have the money he did not have to repay it; also costs attendant on childbirth, retraining for the blind, deaf, dumb, and crippled and grants made while the recipient was still a minor were not refundable. Actually now in Berlin, very little effort is made to

collect such debts, but the threat still remains over the recipient's head. The Berlin City Assembly further qualified the requirement in December, 1947, by adding more nonpayable exemptions such as: relief payments made in lieu of social insurance benefits; grants to people suffering from TB or infectious venereal disease; grants to recognized persecutees of the Nazi regime; costs arising from medical care and retraining made necessary by war injury; and grants to women with children whose soldier husbands are dead, still prisoners of war, or missing. But still the principle of repayment of relief remains.

One provision of the law which is of great importance is that "the state [Land] may delegate to private agencies tasks entrusted to public welfare authorities under this ordinance, provided the private agencies agree." The lump-sum allocation of public funds to private agencies is a common practice.

Various sections of the law provide that relief standards shall be related to the cost of living in the area and that relief should continue until destitution ends. Before the war the national government established basic standards and the states were authorized to increase the standard but not to decrease it.

At the present time, of course, there is no central German government, each state making its own laws. All of them in the United States Zone use the 1924 law as foundation. In Berlin, where the elected City Assembly subject to the Allied Kommandatura governs, this is also true.

Relief standards.—Approximately 7 per cent of the population of Berlin receives public assistance. That the number is not higher is surprising to many but is accounted for by two primary factors. First and foremost is the fact that

instead of widespread unemployment there is a manpower shortage. Second, Berlin's social insurance coverage is broad and has been expanding steadily since the end of the war. While the Social Insurance Institute (Versicherungsanstalt) was gradually reorganizing and resuming its work after the capitulation, many persons who ordinarily would receive insurance benefits were assisted from relief funds.

Relief standards compared with insurance benefits or average wages alone are not bad. But the important factor is the difficulty of finding the necessities of life at reasonable prices. It is commonly said that many people find it not worth while to work for a wage. It takes too much time away from earning a living on the black market.

A typical family on relief (the absence of a male provider makes the family typical) would receive the following in marks per month: For first person (mother), 35; first child, 25; second child, 20; third child 15; rent (rent is paid to a maximum of 40 marks per month), 25; total: 120 marks per month. Comparisons which show how much this means are: An unskilled female laborer receives 180 marks per month in wages; a typist in a municipal office, 180 marks. A woman's overcoat costs legally 60 marks and, if you can find it, on the black market, 600 marks. Children's shoes: legally, 20 marks; black market, 200 marks. A pound of butter: legally 1.80 marks; black market, 240 marks. A carton of American cigarettes brings 800-1,000 marks.

It is an almost universal practice for mothers on relief to sell first whatever valuables can possibly be spared and then their children's milk ration cards.

In Berlin children up to six are normal in weight and height. Public health authorities attribute this in great measure

to the Swedish feeding program which has concentrated on that age group. Children over six and particularly adolescents are seriously underweight and undersized. All children receive a noonday meal at school.

A winter feeding program for the needy aged was carried out in 1947-48. Food was provided by the city government and by CRALOG (Council of Relief Agencies for Operation in Germany) which relieved somewhat the plight of this disadvantaged group.

Organization and administration.—The five branches of the welfare department are Administration, General Relief, Child Welfare, Victims of Fascism, and Resettlers and Returnees. Each of the twenty borough offices (Verwaltungsbezirke) duplicates these same five branches. Needless to say, the task of public welfare administrators particularly in the central office is tremendously complicated by the quadripartite government of the city. Six of the boroughs are in the United States Sector, two in the French, four in the British, and eight in the Soviet. The Central Welfare Department sets policy, standards, and in general is responsible for the city-wide administration of the program. However, each occupying power may give direct orders to the borough offices in its own sector without reference to the central department, so that differences in policy and administrative confusion are inevitable concomitants. In addition the traditional independence of the boroughs plus the fact that after the collapse the outlying districts were the first to come to life make it easy to see the problems of co-ordination and control with which the central administration is faced.

The process of determining eligibility for public assistance is a modification of the Elberfelder system and a novel one

for most Americans. The applicant files his application for relief with the borough office. It is then handed to one of the seven hundred social commissions, a member of which investigates the case and recommends to the borough office whether or not relief should be granted. The uniform rates are then automatically applied by the borough office. Almost no allowance is made for variations in individual needs except in the rent payment.

The voluntary social commissions are a device of long standing in Berlin public welfare administration. It is their job to act as the field forces of the public welfare department. Very often the case worker who "carries" a case knows practically nothing about the circumstances except through the verbal reports of the Social Commission member responsible for the geographical area in which the family lives. When a special feeding program is put into effect, such as the recent one for needy aged people, it is the Social Commission which refers individuals. In the autumn of 1947 when people who might need special care in case of severe winter weather were listed, the social commissions and private welfare agencies did it. In short, they are the principal organ of contact of the welfare department with its clients.

The Social Commission is usually made up of representatives of the various political parties and religious confessions, as both play important roles in ministering to the welfare needs of the Berlin population. For example, one commission in the borough of Steglitz is composed of nine members: two from the Protestant welfare agency, Innere Mission; one from the Catholic agency, Caritasverband; two from the Social Democratic party; one from the Christian Democratic party; one from the Socialist Unity

party; one from the Liberal Democratic party; and one from the trade-unions.

The borough social workers meet frequently with the commissions in order to discuss individual cases with them as well as to keep them up to date on rules and regulations. In addition to this the chairmen of the commissions meet at regular intervals with the borough welfare directors to discuss general policy and local problems.

At the city level there is no appointed public welfare board but rather a Committee on Social Affairs of the City Assembly. This committee considers proposed legislation and makes recommendations to the Assembly in a manner similar to American congressional committees. It does not, however, concern itself with administrative and policy matters of the Central Welfare Department itself. Most of the boroughs do have advisory committees appointed by the borough mayors (Bürgermeister).

Generally, the administration of public assistance tends to be formalistic and mechanical. The quantity of paper necessary to accomplish a relief payment is considerable. Relief standards are automatically applied with little allowance for individual variations, and once eligibility is established, very little contact is maintained with the client as cases are reviewed only infrequently. Such case work as is done with delinquent children and their families is centered in the Child Guidance Section of the Child Welfare Branch and even this is at a very superficial level.

Other functions.—In addition to public assistance, the welfare department is responsible for child welfare services, institutional care of the aged and blind, services to refugees and returnees, and services to persecutees of the Hitler regime.

In the entire city there are 161 institu-

tions for the aged, housing 7,400 people. Of these 115 are privately sponsored but the majority of their residents are paid for by the public agency. In most of these institutions a valiant effort is made to accommodate comfortably the people who have no other place to live. In the main, the service amounts to custodial care, as rarely is much attention given to promoting participation of the residents in the organization of their own community life or to developing diverse activities to help them maintain their vitality and interest in life. Institution after institution is a collection of withered people lying in bed.

The several institutions for the blind attempt to operate workshops and training programs but are tremendously handicapped by the lack of materials. The great majority of blind people in Berlin live independently in their own homes. There are 8,300 partially and totally blind in the city. Only 400 actually live in institutions.

The number of unassimilated refugees and expellees from the eastern territories now in Berlin is very small, as the great mass movement of expellees has ceased and stragglers are not permitted to settle down in the city. Those few who are left in the refugee centers represent in the main those who have come to Berlin illegally and who refuse to resettle in the surrounding Soviet Zone. It is United States policy not to force such resettlement. From time to time, residence permits have been authorized for groups of these people who have relatives already in the city as well as for former Berlin residents who have returned to Berlin in spite of official prohibitions. Returning prisoners of war are also accommodated for brief periods in the refugee centers while they are in the process of securing the requisite ration cards, labor office

registration, housing permit, police registration, etc., which they must have before they become full-fledged Berlin residents. Many of the returning PW's must be cared for in convalescent homes for a period, as almost without exception those who are now returning from the Soviet Union are in very bad physical condition. It is the function of the Resettlers and Returnees (Umsiedler und Heimkehrer) Branch of the welfare department to provide each returnee with an initial small grant (usually 50 marks) and with clothing, if possible, as well as to assist him through the maze of papers and permissions.

At the present time in Berlin there are approximately 20,000 people who have been officially recognized as "victims of fascism." The Victims of Fascism Branch (Opfer des Faschismus) of the welfare department is the official organ through which this recognition is carried out. Two major groups of victims exist, "Fighters" and "Victims." Among the first group are found those who actively opposed the Hitler regime and suffered persecution because of it. The second group is made up of Jews and "mischlings" and others who were persecuted on racial and religious grounds. At the time of recognition all "fighters" receive an initial grant of 450 marks from the welfare department. Other benefits which are supposed to accrue to victims of fascism are ration cards one category higher than normal, priority on employment, housing, and house furnishings, and until recently tax exemption on the first 100 marks of monthly income. The City Assembly has recently approved an ordinance which provides for this group retraining allowances, reinstatement in former or comparable jobs, business loans with collateral guaranteed by the city govern-

ment, increased pensions, and costs for medical care.

Social insurance.—Because of its great importance in the whole scheme of social security in Berlin, the public insurance programs should be mentioned. As pointed out earlier, public assistance case loads have steadily decreased over the last two years, and one of the primary reasons for this decline has been the extension of social insurance coverage to more and more people.

At the present time, several types of insurance are in effect: sickness, invalidity, maternity, accident, old age, and survivors. There is no program of unemployment insurance. Instead, during the winter to tide over workers who are forced into periods of unemployment because of power or materials shortages, public funds are made available. They are administered through the Labor Office instead of the Insurance Institute which handles the insurance programs.

Ninety-five per cent of the population of Berlin is insured. The total Berlin population is 3,300,000. The total number of persons by categories is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

INSURANCE OF BERLIN POPULATION

Employees mandatorily insured....	1,371,300
Employers, employing five or less people, mandatorily insured.....	126,100
Voluntarily insured.....	40,000
Relief recipients.....	83,500
Persons living on pensions.....	318,200
Coinsured dependents of mandatorily insured, relief recipients, and pensioners.....	1,200,000
Total.....	3,139,100

All recognized victims of fascism are automatically insured, as are students. Accident protection is extended to people engaged in work of public importance, such as the members of social commis-

sions, women's welfare committees, guardians, auxiliary police, blood donors, and those who may suffer injury while saving lives, giving first aid, etc. The uniform contribution of the insured person is 10 per cent of his wage or salary, the employer making an equal contribution.

Such a broad and uniform system of social insurance undoubtedly would have been a very long time in coming had it not been for the complete breakdown of the old multifarious, departmentalized, and differentiated system in Berlin and the necessity for making a completely new start.

PRIVATE WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

General characteristics.—A survey of the major private welfare organizations in Berlin reveals several interesting characteristics of this field as a whole. Perhaps first in importance is the strongly sectarian nature of most private welfare work. The big three of the private agency field are Caritasverband (Charity Union), which is Catholic, and Evangelisches Hilfswerk (Lutheran Aid) and Innere Mission, both of which are Protestant. A second factor of almost equal importance is the strongly political nature of two other important agencies—the Arbeiterwohlfahrt (Workers' Welfare organization of the Social Democratic party) and the Sozialhilfe (Social Assistance organization of the Socialist Unity party). From an American viewpoint it would often appear that the close affiliation between political and religious organizations and welfare agencies tends to divide the field of private welfare service among competing groups which use welfare to promote the ideology of the sponsoring organizations.

Third is the absence of any generic agencies similar to the family service societies or child welfare associations which

play so important a role in the welfare pattern of most American cities. The major and sometimes entire emphasis of the present private agencies is upon institutional programs for children, the aged, and the handicapped, plus emergency or short-term relief, usually given in kind.

A fourth point, which perhaps cannot be made as categorically as the above, is the close relationship of the major private welfare agencies to their parent-organizations. As a result their programs frequently seem to be dictated more by policies handed down by their parent-organizations than by local needs. This presents a particular difficulty in Berlin where problems are usually quite different from those of other parts of Germany and also more complex.

A fifth factor, partly cause and partly result of the above, is the almost complete absence of any central co-ordinating machinery like that of the local community chests and councils of social agencies in most American cities. Although there is a Council of Public and Private Agencies within the United States Sector, it is seriously limited in its ability to provide such co-ordination by the fact that it has no paid staff and that it serves only the 30 per cent of Berlin which comprises the United States Sector. There is no central fund-raising body for the private agencies.

Last but by no means least in importance is the relationship between the public and the private organizations. The old Public Welfare Law of 1924, which still serves as the basic public welfare legislation in the three western zones of Germany, states:

The (public) welfare agencies shall not call into existence new organizations provided suitable existing facilities of private welfare associations suffice. The (public) welfare agencies are the prime organ of public welfare and at

the same time the link between public and private work; their objective must be that public and private welfare work supplement each other appropriately and cooperate in such a way as to do justice to the independence of both. The government may set up rules and regulations for this cooperation.

Whether this law was the cause of the extensive practice of public grants to private agencies, or whether it merely legalized a practice which already existed, is difficult to say. It is a fact, however, that in addition to direct payment for services rendered, the private agencies (for the most part the sectarian ones) receive public funds from two sources—directly, through outright grants from the budget of the Public Welfare Department, and indirectly, through tax funds turned over to the churches, on the basis of the church tax levied against an individual's income and collected by the government along with the regular income tax.

Another aspect of public-private agency relationship is the suspicion of public agencies, on the part of private agencies. This suspicion was fostered by the Nazi regime's efforts to suppress or subordinate private organizations and by the Nazi political domination of the public agencies. The memory of the Nazi years makes wholehearted co-operation between public and private agencies slow and difficult of achievement.

Without attempting too detailed a description of their organization and activities, let us look at the major private agencies now operating in Berlin, beginning with the sectarian "big three." Berlin is approximately 15 per cent Catholic and 80 per cent Lutheran, and on these figures one can easily estimate the relative roles of the one Catholic and two Protestant agencies.

Sectarian agencies.—Caritasverband is the co-ordinating agency for all Catholic

welfare activities in Berlin, and its activities cover quite completely the many phases of work which the term "welfare" encompasses. Its program includes: relief to the needy, carried on by the parish welfare offices; home nursing; medical care; foster-placement in institutional foster-homes; day care for children; guardianship care; care of the aged and infirm in institutions; advice and assistance to expellees and to returnees including home-coming prisoners of war; care for alcoholics and drug addicts, including use of institutions for special treatment; prison welfare and court case work during trial, imprisonment, and after release; travelers' aid; overnight shelter for transients.

The Caritasverband for Berlin was established in 1901. Although it was able to continue its work during the Nazi regime, it encountered continual difficulty with the Nazi party and with the Nazi "People's Welfare Organization" (N.S. Volkswohlfahrt). During that time its travelers' aid, juvenile court work, child placement service, and employment services were prohibited.

The Innere Mission is the central organization of all Lutheran social work programs in Berlin. Its origin in Berlin dates back to 1848, although its first statutes were not issued until 1899. As an organization it encountered even more difficulty with the Nazi regime than did the Caritasverband. Its welfare services are carried on primarily by its parish welfare offices: advice and assistance in individual cases; care of the aged; guardianship; employment counseling; advice to returnees and resettlers and ex-PW's; child welfare services, including foster-placement; operation of kindergartens and day-care centers; hospitals; travelers' aid work; mass feeding centers; and the administration of a women's school

of social work as well as a seminary for training kindergarten teachers. In addition, an active program of outright religious missionary work is a part of the over-all program.

The Evangelisches Hilfswerk was organized in 1945 by the Lutheran church for the purpose of aiding those whose distress was directly attributable to the war. Close co-operation is maintained between it and the Innere Mission, whose services and institutions are at the disposal of Evangelisches Hilfswerk. Its major emphasis is laid upon assistance to expellees, returnees including ex-PW's, and those groups or individuals who were persecuted under the Nazi regime. The main activities which it carries on include: short-term assistance; reconstruction of churches; financial assistance to students; services in refugee and returnee centers; retraining of the disabled or of returnees; care of children; medical care; representing persecutees of the Nazi regime in their efforts to obtain compensation for their losses; and facilitating the assimilation of expellees into their new community.

Although all of the "big three" are sectarian, they are not rigidly so. A client can avail himself of the services of any of the three, regardless of his religion, if such services are not readily available from the agency of his own denomination.

In addition to the services enumerated above, all three of the agencies co-operate with the public welfare offices in the operation of mass emergency programs such as the winter warming centers and the supplementary public feeding programs, in which the personnel, facilities, and supplies of both public and private agencies are usually pooled.

Tracing services.—Another activity which has required close co-operation

among the private agencies has been the search and tracing services. Two and one-half years after the war's end, approximately three million Germans are still missing, only half of whom are known to be in prisoner-of-war captivity. As a result, both Caritasverband and Evangelisches Hilfswerk as well as the Red Cross in the United States Sector carry on extensive search service programs in Berlin. These three organizations jointly support a Search Service Liaison Office which serves to co-ordinate their search activities with those of the tracing-search bureaus in all four zones of Germany.

Political welfare organizations.—Turning from the sectarian organizations to the overt political welfare bodies, we find two—the Arbeiterwohlfahrt and the Sozialhilfe. Arbeiterwohlfahrt (Workers' Welfare) is an S.P.D.—Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic party)—agency founded in 1919. Prohibited throughout the Nazi regime, it is working valiantly to re-establish itself in the face of acute shortages of material supplies, buildings, and personnel. Primarily limited at present to offering such services as emergency relief in kind, shoe-repair centers, sewing centers, day-care centers, warming centers, and children's institutions, it has a staff of social workers in each of Berlin's twenty boroughs who offer advice or make referrals to the appropriate agencies, recruit and train volunteer workers, and distribute a limited amount of cash relief in cases of serious emergency.

The Sozialhilfe (Social Assistance), overt welfare organ of the S.E.D.—Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity party)—is the Berlin counterpart of the Volkssolidarität (People's Solidarity) which is coming more and more to dominate the private welfare scene in the Soviet Zone. The

Sozialhilfe, having to rely primarily on the Soviet Military Administration and the Volkssolidarität for supplies, has not as yet been able to assume the dominating position reached by the Volkssolidarität in the Soviet Zone. The ostensible objective of the Sozialhilfe is to provide an all-encompassing welfare organization which will serve as a rallying point for all democratic, anti-Fascist groups interested in meeting the welfare needs of the community. The presence of the three Western powers in Berlin has placed the Sozialhilfe in a less advantageous position than is enjoyed by Volkssolidarität in the Soviet Zone, where the latter organization has more latitude in securing the co-operation of the other private welfare organizations, for whom co-operation is oftentimes the price they must pay in order to exist.

Red Cross.—No discussion of the role of private agencies in Berlin would be complete without mention of the Red Cross. Under Hitler the German Red Cross was so completely dominated by the Nazis that one of the first postwar acts of the Allies was to abolish the organization. With time democratic-minded persons have rebuilt the Red Cross in each of the three western zones. In Berlin, where four-power approval is required before any organization can operate in more than one sector, there are now separate Red Cross societies in both the United States and the British sectors.

The major activities of these Red Cross organizations are first-aid services including ambulance services, home nursing, the operation of a hospital, mass feeding centers, search services, and sewing centers. In addition to these services carried on directly under Red Cross auspices, a large number of volunteers are trained and made available to refugee

centers, railroad-station services, and to other emergency feeding programs carried on jointly by public and private agencies.

Other private organizations.—The foregoing does not exhaust the list of private welfare activities, which includes the Salvation Army, the Mittelhof Neighborhood Center (Quakers), welfare activities of the Methodists, Church of the Latter Day Saints, and others. To date the number of voluntary welfare organizations has been kept to a small fraction of those which formerly existed, primarily because of the Allied Kommandatura ruling which requires four-power approval of any nonpolitical organization set up to function in more than one sector. This ruling has not applied to religious organizations which are free to carry on welfare services without Allied Kommandatura approval. The differing philosophy of the Western powers in contrast to that of the Soviet Union has resulted to date in the Allies' inability to agree on the recognition of a majority of the voluntary nonpolitical organizations which have applied for permission to operate in Berlin.

CHILD WELFARE

Child welfare services are taken up here as a separate subject because of their importance in terms of Germany's future and the fact that war has had its severest impact upon children. One of the aftermaths of war has been a tragic increase in the amount of juvenile delinquency, broken homes, and uprooted children. Child welfare is of additional interest because the whole field highlights some of the important differences between German and United States welfare concepts and practices.

Legislation.—The child welfare legislation of the period 1922-24 is still in ef-

fect. The first paragraph of the Reich Child Welfare Law of 1922 contains one of the most progressive passages in German legislation: "Every German child is entitled to education for physical, mental and social efficiency." The granting of this right, which had never really existed before, and the stipulation that the public welfare agencies were responsible for seeing that every child could take advantage of it, represented a climax in the social development of this period of Germany's history.

This legislation brought together the existent public child welfare activities and delegated them to one official body—the child welfare office. It also recognized the importance of private child welfare activities by giving the private agencies representation on the governing committees of the child welfare offices. In addition, the child welfare office was expected to encourage the private agencies to cooperate actively and to utilize their facilities to the fullest. In short, the local child welfare offices were assigned three major areas of responsibility under the child welfare legislation of the early twenties: (1) the care of dependent and orphan children and the supervision of children under foster-care; (2) the automatic assumption of guardianship of all illegitimate children and of certain legitimate children; (3) the care, supervision, and education of neglected and delinquent children.

Organization of public program.—It is within the framework of this legislation that the Child Welfare Branch (Hauptjugendamt) of the Central Welfare Department and the borough child welfare branches of Berlin operate in postwar 1948. Although recommended by the City Assembly of Berlin, an independent department for all youth matters did not receive Allied Kommandatura approval.

As a result, individualized child welfare services are separate from group work for young people. The former is carried on by the Child Welfare Branch of the Central Welfare Department. The latter is a function of the Central Education Department. Playing an important role in group activities among children and young people in Berlin are the four political youth organizations which compete for the affiliation of young Berliners. Three are attached to political parties, and the fourth is independent but carries on activities of a broadly political nature.

The work of the Child Welfare Branch is divided among nine separate sections: (1) foster-care, (2) day care, (3) recuperational care, and return of evacuated mothers and children, (4) guardianship, (5) juvenile court consultation, (6) correctional institutions, (7) child guidance, (8) adoptions, and (9) prevention of juvenile delinquency.

It is obvious from this enumeration that there is an unreal categorization of child welfare services.

At the end of 1947 there were 19,000 children under municipal care. Of these, 7,000 were placed in institutions and the remainder in foster-homes. The number of municipal children's homes has increased from 18 with a capacity of 1,100 in 1945 to 49 with a capacity of 4,000 at the end of 1947. Private children's homes have increased from 25 with a capacity of 1,300 in 1945 to 39 with a capacity of 3,000 in 1947. There is a serious and ever present shortage of foster-homes. The shortage of living quarters and the lack of food and clothing make the finding of suitable foster-homes a formidable task. An increase in the monthly foster-home payment from 25 to 30 marks in July, 1947, has had virtually no effect in overcoming this problem. At the present time

it is estimated that there are 2,500 children who are in urgent need of foster-placement but for whom placements are not available. Under the terms of the existing child welfare legislation, no children may be placed in foster-care without the knowledge and permission of the Child Welfare Branch.

Because many fathers are dead or missing, many families have been broken by the war, and because of the acute labor shortage in Berlin, large numbers of mothers with small children have had to go to work. By the end of 1947, there was a total of 705 municipal and private day-care centers in Berlin with a maximum capacity of 27,550 children as compared with 225 day-care centers in the middle of 1945. There are still many children of working mothers who are without supervision and in need of day care. Expansion of day-care facilities is handicapped by the shortage of teachers, building-repair facilities, and equipment. Those which now exist are terribly overcrowded. Day-care centers are also used as supplementary feeding centers for children and in some cases as emergency night shelters for cold-endangered children. This was particularly true during the severe winter, 1946-47.

The section of the Child Welfare Branch charged with recuperational care of children has placed considerable emphasis on sending children in need of recuperation to rural communities. In addition, three transports of undernourished and pretubercular children were sent during 1947 to Switzerland to private families under the sponsorship of the Swiss Children's Aid and with assistance from the International Committee of the Red Cross which provided the transportation. Approximately 10,000 preschool children were taken care of in a special summer recuperation program through-

out the 72 parks and playgrounds of the city. Supplementary feeding was provided by various foreign relief agencies.

In January, 1947, the Allied Kommandatura agreed that mothers and children evacuated from Berlin during the war could be returned, provided that the head of the family group was a resident of Berlin, care and maintenance was assured, and living space was available. This was an exception to the Allied Kommandatura ruling of September 13, 1945, which proclaimed Berlin a closed city. Investigations for these cases were carried on by the Child Welfare Branch until October, 1947, when the responsibility was turned over to the Resettlers and Returnees Branch.

Work of the child welfare offices in the area of guardianship points up one of the important differences between German and American social work concepts. When an illegitimate child is born in Berlin, the Child Welfare Branch in whose borough the child was born automatically becomes his guardian. This requirement, which was provided for by the Reich Child Welfare Law of 1922, has the advantage of initiating all steps necessary for the well-being of the illegitimate child immediately after its birth, without a complicated and lengthy procedure of finding and appointing an individual guardian. On the negative side, this total and absolute control over the child's life regardless of the individual circumstances is to be questioned. The illegitimate child is not a legal relative of the father who is, however, responsible for the support of his illegitimate child from birth until the child is sixteen years of age, or beyond that if the child is incapable of self-support because of physical or mental disability. At the end of 1947, there were 59,000 municipal wards. Of these, 55,990 were illegitimate chil-

dren. The percentage of illegitimate births compared with total live births in Berlin was 18 per cent in 1946 as compared with 22 per cent in 1944-45. The legitimate children under municipal guardianship are in the main orphans or children who came to Berlin as refugees and whose parents' whereabouts are unknown.

In addition to guardianship cases the Child Welfare Branch was carrying 6,136 custodianships at the end of 1947. These are cases in which responsibility was assumed in a limited area, such as managing finances or assisting a parent with other specific problems.

In its fifth area of responsibility, that of juvenile court consultation, the Child Welfare Branch carried a total of 8,750 cases between November, 1946, and October, 1947, compared with 7,428 for the preceding year. In spite of these sizable figures, the postwar increase in juvenile delinquency seems to have leveled off in recent months.

Juvenile court consultation functions in accordance with the authority vested in the child welfare offices by the 1922 Reich Child Welfare Law. It operates in all borough children's courts and on behalf of the United States, British, and French Military Government courts. Investigations and reports are made to the courts in much the same fashion as is done by the probation departments of many American juvenile courts.

Another function of the juvenile court consultation section is the follow-up care and placement of juveniles after their release from detention. This constitutes a grave problem since many have no parents and no home. The shortage of suitable homes is a serious handicap.

The section of the Child Welfare Branch responsible for correctional and boarding homes places problem children

and juveniles in accordance with the Reich Child Welfare Law. At present there are 44 homes—29 municipal and 15 private—which house a total of 3,500 problem and predelinquent children and juveniles. There is a particularly serious shortage of placement facilities for juveniles nineteen to twenty-one years of age.

Before November, 1946, juvenile delinquents in Berlin were sent to local jails where they associated with hardened criminals and received no educational or vocational training. Juvenile delinquency had increased materially by 1946 over the pre-war years. To relieve this situation, a juvenile detention home was established at the request of United States Military Government authorities, using a former civilian internees' camp in the United States Sector of Berlin. Emphasis was placed on social rehabilitation rather than on punishment, and the public welfare department was made responsible for the operation of the home. The use of the home for rehabilitating boys has gradually gained favor with German courts which originally resisted the use of the detention home because the welfare department rather than the courts was responsible for its operation. Since its establishment, the United States Military Government courts have made the fullest possible use of the home for the care of juvenile delinquents for whom institutionalization is deemed necessary.

The child guidance section maintains sixteen offices for problem children and juveniles and in 1947 gave advice and treatment in 1,700 cases. There is co-operation between this service and the psychiatry office of the Central Health Department. There is also co-operation in varying degrees with the schools of the various boroughs. In addition to individ-

ual guidance, some children are handled in play groups of ten to fifteen children.

The adoption section of the Child Welfare Branch placed 248 children in 1947. It reported a fair balance between applications for adoption and children placed. The complicated legal, economic, and social situation in postwar Berlin is reflected in the fact that of 556 children placed since the end of the war, only twelve adoptions have been confirmed by the legal authorities.

The ninth section of the Child Welfare Branch that is set up to combat juvenile delinquency represents a real postwar effort at special measures for combating delinquency and predelinquency. All employees of the Child Welfare Branch and all trainees are selected by this section. In-service training in the form of discussion groups, institutional inspections, counseling, and other measures are carried on by this section. A special therapeutic-educational institution is being established and others are planned along the same line. Particular efforts are being made by this section to put "work-shy" juveniles into suitable positions or apprentice jobs and to deter them from black-market and other asocial activities by which many juveniles are able to earn an easy livelihood.

Juvenile courts.—A description of the child welfare field would be incomplete without some mention of the juvenile courts. These were established by the 1924 legislation as subdivisions of the criminal courts. The juvenile court has jurisdiction over all offenses committed by juveniles from fourteen to eighteen years of age. A "juvenile person" as defined by the juvenile court law is a boy or a girl over fourteen years of age but not yet eighteen at the time of the complaint. Children under fourteen years of age, who commit a crime or misde-

meanor, do not come under the jurisdiction of the German juvenile court. Their social readjustment is the concern of the guardianship court and of the child welfare office. Thus, in contrast to the American juvenile court, the German court has no jurisdiction over the dependent, neglected, and destitute child unless an offense has been committed. As noted above, in most juvenile court cases the Child Welfare Branch makes an investigation and a report of the juvenile delinquent's social situation to the court.

To summarize, the child welfare field in Berlin is marked by the dominating role of the Central and Borough Child Welfare branches. The major activity of the private agencies in this field is to provide a sizable portion of the institutional and foster-home care for children, for which reimbursement is made by the public agencies. There is slowly being recognized the need for an individual approach to children presenting social and emotional problems, but this is handicapped severely by the lack of adequate physical facilities and by the lack of trained, experienced personnel. The shortage of suitable foster-homes and the difficulty of finding new ones further complicate the problem. Overshadowing these difficulties are the social effects of the war and postwar periods—the broken homes, the absence of one or both parents, the poor housing and consequent lack of privacy, the shortage of recreational facilities, and the lure of easy money to be had in black-market activities and other asocial pursuits.

IMPORTED RELIEF PROGRAMS

Although it is unreal to attempt to separate the imported relief programs from the public and private welfare programs which they supplement, they are treated here as a separate group for the

sake of clarity. The four major imported relief supply organizations operating in all four sectors of Berlin are CARE, CRALOG, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the Swedish Red Cross.

CARE.—CARE (Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe) is a nonprofit organization of the twenty-seven leading accredited American overseas relief agencies. It was established shortly after the war's end to provide a safe and efficient way of sending relief packages from the United States to Europe. It is interesting to note that to date over two-thirds of all CARE parcels have been sent to Germany.

CARE parcels are purchased in the United States and are sent to friends, relatives, or welfare organizations. At present ten kinds of parcels are available through CARE, but of the 325,000 which had been received in Berlin by the close of 1947, 95 per cent were food parcels. All parcels received that are not addressed to specific individuals, as well as all "dividend" parcels donated by CARE itself, are distributed through the Berlin CARE Committee to needy individuals in all four sectors of the city on a plan based on the relative populations of the four sectors. The CARE Committee is made up of representatives of the Central Welfare Department and of the major private welfare agencies.

CRALOG.—CRALOG (Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Operation in Germany) is a federation of United States relief agencies licensed by the United States government to ship welfare supplies in bulk to Germany for distribution to those in need. It is the sole agency through which welfare shipments in bulk receiving the exemptions and priorities afforded by the military government may be forwarded from the United

States. In Berlin CRALOG operates by Allied Kommandatura agreement through the Central Welfare Department, under the guidance of a central CRALOG Committee on which both public and private welfare agencies are represented. All CRALOG food supplies, by the terms of the Kommandatura agreement, are distributed through city-wide projects of the Central Welfare Department with the private agencies participating in a subordinate role. This arrangement has irked the private agencies to whom these supplies are designated. It has been even more unsatisfactory to the donors in America who feel that their donations should be used as they have designated. As a result, Berlin has received far less of the total CRALOG shipments to Germany than would otherwise have been the case. CRALOG supplies in the summer of 1947 supported a central distribution of food to needy mothers and a supplementary feeding program for undernourished children. During the winter 1947-48, 54,000 aged persons were given one hot meal a day.

International Committee of the Red Cross.—The ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) is a Swiss organization through which organizations of other countries donate food, clothing, medicine, and other supplies for collective relief in Germany. It distributes the gifts of the Swiss and Irish governments among others, and of the Red Cross organizations of many of the smaller nations of the world. All distribution of ICRC relief supplies is made through the Central Welfare Department of the Magistrat; medical supplies are handled by the Central Health Department. Most of the ICRC food has been used for various supplementary children's and youths' feeding programs. Large amounts of such

badly needed articles as shoes, textiles, shoe-repair materials, and soap have been turned over to the Central Welfare Department.

Swedish Red Cross.—Like the ICRC, the Swedish Red Cross works directly with the Central Welfare Department but participates more actively in the distribution of its supplies than does any of the other foreign relief agencies. It has centered its work on supplementary feeding programs of babies and preschool children who are selected on the basis of medical recommendations. The feeding (or distribution of food for babies) is carried on in centers located throughout the four sectors of Berlin and operated by the public welfare offices. Considerable clothing distribution and a large shoe-repair program are carried on by the Swedish Red Cross, utilizing personnel and facilities provided by the Central Welfare Department.

Over and above these four organizations, which maintain staffs in Berlin and keep in close contact with the distribution of their supplies, there are many other foreign relief agencies making substantial contributions to the alleviation of suffering and want. Among these are the Swiss Hilfswerk which ships relief supplies directly to Evangelisches Hilfswerk, the Vatican Gift which is handled directly through the Caritasverband, and the Centre d'Entre Aide, a Swiss welfare organization which forwards relief parcels from foreign donors to Berlin.

PERSONNEL

In a city where the social services are hobbled by shortages of everything imaginable from buildings to paper, it is not surprising that the most serious shortage is personnel. However discouraging is war's destruction of physical assets, it

is as nothing compared to its waste of people.

The song popular in America in the war years, "They're Either Too Young or Too Old," is completely applicable in Berlin. With but few exceptions, most of today's leaders in the social work field are men and women who have come back to key positions which they held in the pre-Nazi days. Many of the rank and file practitioners are young, untrained, and inexperienced, recruited since the war's end. The twelve years that were Hitler's Thousand Year Reich attracted few people to the profession of social work. The Nazi regime's excoriation of all aspects of the "welfare state," as the pre-Nazi era was called by Hitler's followers, was not calculated to attract people to the social work profession. The suppression by the Nazis of most of the private agencies and the political domination of the remainder and of the public welfare programs took their toll.

Denazification has ruled out many more since the war's end. The shortage of younger men, the limited training facilities, and the low level of salaries in the profession have combined to keep most agencies understaffed.

The strong religious or political forces which motivate so much of Berlin's private agency work and the intensity of political rivalries in the public welfare field are additional reasons for the low status of the profession. In a city in which there is no professional organization among its social workers, Berlin can count over twelve hundred members in the social workers' union, most of these public agency employees.

On the whole, social work at the practitioners' level is considered woman's work and is accorded low status and remuneration. In the private agency field in particular it is carried out largely by

those who have a religious devotion. Most of the higher administrative and policy-making positions in the social services are held by men without social work training.

Professional training for social work in Berlin's three schools of social work follows much the same pattern as in the other sections of Germany. All three schools are traditionally for women students, although since the war's end the Pestalozzi-Fröbel Haus has included men in its curriculum. Prospective students must have followed a course of training for nursing, kindergarten teaching, or domestic sciences. The course of training lasts two years and includes two three-month periods of practical work. A third year is then spent in field training, and successful students upon passing the state examination for social workers are licensed at the end of this period.

The curriculum places considerable emphasis on the legal aspects of social work and comparatively little upon treatment techniques of social and emotional problems. As a result of the war, the isolation of the profession during the pre-war years, and the great shortage of books, periodicals, and all other professional literature, the schools are quite out of touch with present-day developments in the fields of psychology, psychiatry, and case work.

Field training is carried out in both public and private agencies, but because of the pressure of work and the shortage of personnel, there is a tendency for the students to be used rather than taught. The school faculties are made up, with a few exceptions, of older women whose approach to social work training is largely that of the pre-Nazi era. There are in general three main curriculums—health welfare, youth welfare, and industrial welfare. The emphasis is much more

on manipulative treatment than on case work techniques as known in the United States.

As noted above, only those social workers who have completed a course in the school of social work and have passed a state examination are licensed in Berlin. Differentiation in food rations exists between licensed and nonlicensed social workers, with the former receiving a daily ration that is four hundred calories more than the latter. This is obviously a hardship, particularly since both licensed and nonlicensed workers are often found working side by side. The result has been a large turnover of the unlicensed group of workers. Agencies have great difficulty filling these positions because of the shortage of licensed workers and the unwillingness of nonlicensed workers to accept this ration differential.

Apart from the shortages and other handicaps there remains the inescapable fact that Germany is a tired nation, physically and intellectually. Twelve years of nazism, six years of war, and the physical demands of everyday life required of the average individual today have had their toll. The everyday needs of obtaining sufficient food, office space, a minimum of clothing, shelter, and the like are so pressing that workers and their agencies have little opportunity to develop the individual thinking and initiative required for the growth and enrichment of the profession. "Sufficient unto the day are the problems thereof" is an all too easy thought pattern into which both individuals and organizations can fall, under these conditions.

THE ALLIES AND WELFARE PROGRAMS

One of the very interesting facets of public welfare administration in Berlin today is the relationship between the Allied Kommandatura and the city govern-

ment and of the members of the Kommandatura itself.

The Allied Kommandatura is the organ of quadripartite government responsible for the governing of Berlin. It works through committees which cover every aspect of city administration. The Welfare and Refugees Committee considers all matters of public and private welfare. The committees rotate chairmanship every month and are actually technical bodies which can only make recommendations to the Kommandatura commandants, except that they may give purely technical instructions to the municipal departments.

Theoretically, the city government (Magistrat) is permitted a very wide latitude in self-government within the terms of the provisional municipal constitution which has been in effect since October, 1946. Actually the occupying powers more often than not have differing views on how self-government should rule in Berlin, so that there is a great deal of detailed interference which would not occur were relations among the Allies more cordial.

A sample agenda for the weekly meetings of the Welfare and Refugees Committee shows its scope: (1) approval of the public welfare budget; (2) official recognition of three voluntary nonpolitical organizations of the blind; (3) consideration of the request of the Office for Victims of Fascism for authorization to distribute an additional three hundred pounds of coal to all victims of fascism; (4) permission for 2,000 German women and children to return from Denmark, to which country they were evacuated during the war to escape the bombing of Berlin; (5) measures to be taken against Herr Gloede, mortician, who held records of Allied nationals who died in Berlin during forced labor, which records he had failed to turn over to the Kommandatura.

tura; (6) expression of dissatisfaction with conditions under which children were being held in a municipal detention home pending police investigation, and instruction to the Central Welfare Department to remedy the situation.

On two of these items there was pronounced disagreement between United States, French, and British delegates, on the one hand, and Soviet, on the other. With reference to supplemental coal for victims of fascism, it was the United States, French, and British view that any available extra fuel should go to the neediest groups among the general population, to the sick, aged, and to families with small children; and that *within* these groups, victims of fascism should have first priority. The Soviet view was that the victims of fascism as a group should get the supplemental ration regardless of individual need. These views reflect the general opinions of the Allies on the position of victims of fascism in the community.

In the matter of recognition of voluntary nonpolitical organizations in the welfare field, the Soviet position, while not precisely stated, has been that it was unnecessary for such organizations to exist outside of the trade-unions. The thesis was advanced that the trade-union organization could adequately represent the interests of the blind. The United States, British, and French position was that any such organizations should be permitted to exist as long as they did not contravene general military-government policy or appear to be under Nazi influence. The one organization of the blind which all four Allies could agree should not be permitted was made up of men blinded as soldiers. As a compromise the Soviets were willing to approve *one* all-inclusive organization of the blind, the one with obvious left political orientation. The United States, British, and

French representatives, however, have held to the principle of freedom of association, and as of this writing (March, 1948) the matter has not yet been resolved.

The approach of the four occupying powers to public welfare is quite varied. On the United States staff are four professional social workers, with specialization in child welfare, public assistance, private agencies, and imported relief supplies. The American staff more than any of the others keeps in close and direct touch with the activities of the German agencies. On the Soviet side the welfare function is an integral part of the labor division, with the latter receiving the principal emphasis. The British and French staffs are small. In the British office the welfare staff devotes a great deal of time to the processing of German brides of British soldiers and relies heavily on the volunteer workers of the British Red Cross for information about and contact with German welfare activities. Neither of the two French staff members has had any previous experience in social welfare. Their principal concerns are displaced persons, records of French nationals who were brought to Berlin for forced labor or as prisoners, and the matters which appear on the Kommandatura agenda.

It is obvious that quadripartite government makes for great complications in the administration of public welfare, particularly when there are deep divergencies of opinion among the occupying powers to which the German welfare officials must accommodate themselves. It is remarkable that public welfare programs in Berlin are as sound and effective as they are.

PUBLIC WELFARE BRANCH
OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT
BERLIN SECTOR

FIFTY YEARS OF SOCIAL ACTION ON THE HOUSING FRONT

JOHN G. HILL

The tenement house districts of New York are places in which thousands of people are living in the smallest space in which it is possible for human beings to exist—crowded together in dark, ill-ventilated rooms, in many of which the sunlight never enters and in most of which fresh air is unknown. They are centers of disease, poverty, vice and crime where it is a marvel, not that some children grow up to be thieves, drunkards and prostitutes but that so many should ever grow up to be decent and self-respecting. All the conditions which surround childhood, youth and womanhood in New York's crowded tenement quarters make for unrighteousness. They also make for disease. There is hardly a tenement house in which there has not been at least one case of pulmonary tuberculosis within the last five years, and in some houses there have been as great a number as twenty-two different cases of this dread disease. From the tenements there comes a stream of sick, helpless people to our hospitals and dispensaries, few of whom are able to afford the luxury of a private physician, and some houses are in such bad sanitary condition that few people can be seriously ill in them and get well. . . . The most terrible of all the features of tenement house life in New York, however, is the indiscriminate herding of all kinds of people in close contact, the fact, that, mingled with the drunken, the dissolute, the improvident, the diseased, dwell the great mass of the respectable working-men of the city with their families.¹

I

ON DECEMBER 19, 1898, Robert W. De Forest, author of the foregoing quotation and at that time president of the Charity Organization Society of New York, called together a meeting of prominent citizens interested in tenement-house reform.

Drastic action was long overdue. The early appearance of the tenement house and its swift adoption as the typical abode of masses of working people and impoverished multitudes of immigrants were, of course, direct outgrowths of the pressure of population which had characterized the phenomenal growth of New York during the nineteenth century. In 1833, when the first tenement house was built, the city numbered less than 250,000; sixty-five years later, the population had swelled to almost 3,500,000, over two-thirds of whom dwelt in the city's eighty-two thousand tenements.² Sharply rising land values and the lag in rapid city-transit invention and development retarded normal geographical expansion and had so intensified the con-

gestion by the turn of the century that New York's overcrowded living conditions were unmatched in any other city of the world.³ Under such circumstances and in the absence of any but the mildest governmental controls, the appalling abuses of profiteering landlords and un-

² The tenement house was legally defined as "any house occupied as the home of three families or more, living independently of one another and doing their own cooking on the premises." There was a popular distinction, however, between what were generally referred to as "tenements" and the better class "apartment houses." Not all the inhabitants of the eighty-two thousand tenements of 1900 were "tenement dwellers" as the term is ordinarily construed. However, according to the Board of Health census of 1893, only one-fifth of the total population of tenement houses, as legally defined, lived in the better type of "apartment houses."

³ The Tenement House Committee appointed by the New York State Legislature in 1894 to investigate the tenement-house problem in New York City made the most comprehensive and detailed comparative study on this point up to that time. It found that New York City had a higher average density of population per acre than any other city in the world, viz., 143.2 persons per acre. Paris was second with a density of 125.2 per acre. One city ward of New York had "986.4 persons to every one of its 32 acres." The only other section of any city in the world that approached this degree of congestion was a district in Bombay which in 1881 had 759.6 persons per acre in an area of 46 acres. The densest section that was found in any European city was a part of Prague, with 485.4 persons per acre.

¹ *The Tenement House Problem*, ed. Robert W. De Forest and Lawrence Veiller (New York, 1903), I, 10.

scrupulous speculators were only to be expected.

The earliest notable attempt at reform had been made in 1842, when a city inspector of the Board of Health called the attention of the Board of Aldermen to the shocking insanitary conditions, the frequency of "fevers and diseases of the lungs" and the "confined atmosphere among the residents of those houses which are occupied by one or two and even more families in each room."⁴ Three years later, the newly founded Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor took up the slum battle with a survey of families living in cellars; and, for the next fifty years, that organization assumed the dominant leadership of efforts for tenement-house reform through its careful analyses and accurate reporting of the conditions it uncovered, through promotion of early attempts at statutory controls, and through experiments with the first "model" tenements. As time went on, the association was joined by other civic and official bodies, and gradually many prominent citizens entered the fight against the evils of the slums.

Despite this mounting agitation, however, little in the way of any major reformation had been accomplished. No less than three state commissions⁵ had been

appointed by the legislature to study the problem, and a series of tenement-house laws had been enacted.⁶ But, in the main, the recommendations of these commissions made little impression on the legislators. Those laws that were enacted were characterized by low minimal requirements, lack of precise specifications, diffusion of administrative responsibility, and the conferring on enforcing agencies of discretionary powers to grant variances from provisions of the law, which, in most instances, nullified their effectiveness. In addition, inspectional forces were hopelessly inadequate or lacking entirely.

Nevertheless, there were indications that the time was ripe for change. Concern for "how the other half lives" was bound to be caught up in the wave of popular enthusiasm for radical reforms and for elimination of social injustices aroused by the early muckrakers. This was assured by the warmly human photographs and writings of the squalor, disease, and degradation of tenement life, by Jacob A. Riis, perhaps the most effective publicist of the slum problem in the history of American housing.⁷

It was against this background that the Charity Organization Society (C.O.S.) meeting was held. The immediate concern of those who attended was a provision in the Greater New York Charter, adopted the previous year,⁸ which con-

⁴ *Annual Report of the Interments in the City and County of New York, for the Year 1842, with Remarks Thereon, and a Brief View of the Sanitary Condition of the City* (presented to the Common Council by John H. Griscom, M.D., city inspector [New York, 1842]).

⁵ The three commissions were the Special Committee on Tenant Houses appointed by the State Legislature in 1856 "to make an examination of the manner in which tenant houses are constructed in the City of New York"; the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1884, appointed "to examine and to investigate and to inquire into the character and condition of tenement houses and cellars in the City of New York"; and the Tenement House Committee of 1894, already mentioned (see n. 3 above).

⁶ The more important of these were the first Tenement House Law of 1867, the Tenement House Act of 1879, and the Tenement House Law of 1895.

⁷ *The Children of the Poor, A Ten Years' War, and How the Other Half Lives* were among the most influential of the works of Jacob A. Riis in arousing public opinion.

⁸ The Greater New York Charter was adopted on May 4, 1897, and took effect on January 1, 1898. It united what is now New York County (Manhattan) and Bronx County with the former city of Brooklyn, the County of Richmond, and Queens County into one municipality under the corporate name of the "City of New York."

solidated the metropolitan area of about three hundred square miles into one political unit and thus made possible a consistent and unified system of municipal administration. Local statutes of the newly enlarged city required revision and recodification. The new charter authorized the Municipal Assembly to appoint a special commission of experts to revise the local building code. Consideration of the constitution of this commission and the drafting of improved tenement-house construction standards to be proposed for inclusion in the new code were the main business at the meeting.

A committee was appointed to carry out the details of the group's decisions. Most of the members of the committee had previously been prominently identified with housing reform. There were Felix Adler, founder of the Society for Ethical Culture, whose vehement lectures against the evils of tenement slums were the direct cause of the appointment of the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1884, of which he had been a member; Ernest Flagg, the noted architect and outstanding leader of improved architectural design of tenements, referred to by historians of housing as the "father of the modern model tenement"; Richard Watson Gilder, chairman of the Improved Housing Council (an organization interested in the promotion of model tenements) and former chairman of the New York State Tenement House Committee of 1894; Dr. E. R. L. Gould, author of *Housing of Working People*, a study of European housing for laboring classes, one of a small group of reports issued by the United States Commissioner of Labor in 1895, marking the first official federal recognition of slums and housing as a problem; George B. Post, well-known architect and the architectural member of the New York State

Tenement House Committee of 1894; Jacob A. Riis, famed writer, newspaperman, and photographer of slum life; and I. N. Phelps Stokes, member of a family long prominent in housing advancement and himself an ardent advocate of improved housing design. Constant A. Andrews, Andrew Carnegie,⁹ Edward T. Devine, the general secretary of the Charity Organization Society, and Robert W. De Forest were the other members. Lawrence Veiller, a former settlement-house worker and lifelong student of housing and housing reform, who was destined as a result of his work with the committee to become a national figure in this field, was appointed staff secretary. The committee took the name of the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society.

The first move of the newly organized group was to secure the introduction in the Board of Aldermen, through Homer Folks,¹⁰ then a city alderman, of a resolution calling for the appointment of a commission of competent architects, engineers, lawyers, and representatives of appropriate city departments. Before sufficient public support could be rallied for the committee's resolution, another resolution was "railroaded" through the board in violation of the rules of procedure. It provided for the appointment of a Municipal Building Code Commission, dominated by city officials. Their intention of drafting an adequate code was under general suspicion. Fruitless efforts were made to induce the Municipal As-

⁹ Mr. Carnegie was a substitute for Mr. John Vinton Dahlgren, whose death occurred shortly after he had been asked to serve on the committee.

¹⁰ Homer Folks was secretary of the State Charities Aid Association from 1893 to 1902 and from 1904 until his retirement in 1947. He was a New York City alderman in 1897 and 1898. Mr. Folks has been a member of the Board of the Community Service Society (formerly the Charity Organization Society) since 1902.

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sembly to enlarge the commission and to make it more representative. Equally fruitless was a subsequent attempt to secure adoption of two bills to restrict the city's power to revise the building code and to provide for its redrafting by the state, which the Tenement House Committee had had introduced in the state legislature following the defeat in the local assembly.

Undaunted, the committee set to work drafting a set of proposals to submit to the city's Code Commission for inclusion in the new building ordinances. The job was a painstaking one, occupying the full attention of the committee for five months. Frequent conferences were held, with the most competent authorities available, to assure that the proposals would represent the soundest and most progressive thinking of the day. Before their final approval, a public gathering was held to secure the advice and suggestions of all those interested in tenement-house reforms. Among those who contributed most to the discussions were representatives of the church, the labor unions, former members of state tenement-investigating commissions, and particularly the settlement-house workers who knew life in the slums at first hand, notably Lillian D. Wald, headworker of Nurses' Settlement (now Henry Street Settlement), and Mary K. Simkhovitch, then headworker of Friendly Aid House (now Goddard House), who became a national leader in the movement for public housing several decades later.¹¹

¹¹ Mrs. Simkhovitch was a member of the New York Public Housing Authority from its establishment in 1934 until her retirement on February 17, 1948. During this entire period she served as vice-chairman of the Authority. She was also one of the founders of the National Public Housing Conference, a national private organization devoted to advancement of public housing.

The fifteen proposals that were finally selected for submission to the Code Commission were published in a pamphlet and widely distributed.¹² They were officially approved by the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects, the Architectural League of New York City, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Children's Aid Society, the University Settlement, the College Settlement, the Nurses' Settlement, and several prominent heads of city departments. Newspaper comments both in New York "and in fact all over the country from Massachusetts to Texas" were generally favorable, although there were those who thought the proposals radical. Among the suggestions was one that no walk-up tenement, unless fireproof, should exceed six stories in height; another proposed that "every new tenement containing 20 families . . . should contain at least one bath tub and where there are more than 20 families there should be provided additional bath tubs." The other recommendations were for enlarged open spaces, increased safety against fire hazards, and more adequate ventilation.

Several members of the Tenement House Committee were present when the proposals were presented to the Municipal Building Code Commission, and each proposal was gone over in detail. When the commission's report was published, it stated not only that most of the proposals of the Tenement House Committee would be incorporated in the new code but also that the commission was considering going even further in some respects than had been suggested. To the utter consternation of the committee, when the draft of the new code appeared,

¹² *Tenement House Ordinances Proposed by the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society* (June, 1899).

not a single one of the proposals was included! In fact, if anything, the new ordinances were weaker than those they were meant to replace. Despite strenuous opposition by many influential civic leaders and despite a violent denunciation of the code by a handful of aldermen as "a steal, a job and an outrage against the people of the city," it was quickly adopted by both branches of the Municipal Assembly and signed by the mayor in the fall of 1899. After almost a year of work, the Tenement House Committee had little to show for its efforts, beyond painfully acquired experience and the satisfaction of having put up a valiant fight.

Once more the committee grimly set to work, firmly resolved that its failure would not repeat itself. Of the committee's attitude, Lawrence Veiller, the secretary, wrote shortly after:

Being convinced that no real progress in tenement house reform was to be made unless the whole community was aroused to a knowledge of existing conditions, the Tenement House Committee set itself to work to prepare for the public such a statement of tenement house evils that the most unconvinced could no longer neglect taking action looking toward amelioration of the living conditions of the working people in New York.¹³

For the next six months, masses of the most reliable data available were collected and studies conducted to bring together the most impressive and convincing picture that could be assembled of conditions as found in the tenement slums. Many civic organizations, particularly the social agencies and early settlement houses, contributed valuable and firsthand information. In order to present the material in as "picturesque and graphic form as possible," a public exhibition was arranged, the first of its kind ever held.

The display occupied two complete

floors of a large building on lower Fifth Avenue. The history of the tenement-house system and the evolution of the worst of its features, such as the dark interior rooms, cellar quarters, the unlit public halls, and the foul "dumbbell" tenement air shafts—labeled "bacteria culture tubes on a gigantic scale"—were all portrayed in over a thousand photographs and in a hundred elaborately detailed maps, charts, and tables of statistics correlating disease and poverty data with housing conditions.

Five papier-mâché reproductions of actual slum blocks were a high light of the exhibition. One in particular attracted special attention. It was a model to scale of a slum block in the lower East Side. The land was almost 100 per cent covered with thirty-nine tenements six stories in height, in which were jammed 2,781 persons. There was not a single bath in the entire block. In the few previous years, thirty-two cases of tuberculosis had been officially reported in this block, and thirteen cases of diphtheria had been discovered the previous year.

On the theory that "so much of the solution of the tenement house problem lies in the scientific planning of buildings," the committee held a competition in conjunction with the exhibit for the best architectural plan of a model tenement for various-sized lots. The features of the prize-winning entry which drew special mention were the spacious court "so that no part of the building was more than two rooms deep," the light staircases and public halls, and the inclusion of a water closet in each apartment so that every family had its own toilet provision "within its own control."

By way of contrast to the worst conditions, there were pictures of model tenements in London and of well-planned dwellings from all the major cities of this

¹³ De Forest and Veiller, *op. cit.*, I, III.

country and abroad. Workingmen's cottages, "built and owned by the municipal government"—pioneer public housing developments—with which several European cities were beginning to experiment, were also featured.

Meanwhile, Mr. De Forest personally interested the recently elected governor, Theodore Roosevelt, in the efforts of the committee and the cause for which it was working and persuaded him to come to New York for the opening of the exhibition in February, 1899. During the two weeks the exhibit remained open, a series of addresses was given by leading specialists on various aspects of the tenement-house problem which helped attract a large daily attendance. By the time the exhibition was over, it had been "viewed by over ten thousand persons of all classes, from the millionaire to the poorest, most unskilled laborer."

The whole event received widespread publicity in the daily press both in New York and in other large cities of the country, and even in Europe. By request, the exhibit was later sent to Boston, Hartford, and Chicago, where it attracted much attention and aided in the formation of the City Homes Association, a citizens' group organized to investigate Chicago's housing problems and to attempt to secure remedial action. Also by request, the exhibition was sent to the Paris Exposition of 1900, where it received a *grand prix* and the secretary of the committee was awarded a medal in recognition of the part he had played in its preparation.

Fortified with the enthusiastic public support for tenement-house reform that had been aroused, the Tenement House Committee renewed its efforts in the state capitol at Albany. A bill was promptly enacted calling for another state commission—the New York State

Tenement House Commission of 1900. In recognition of the work of the C.O.S. Tenement House Committee, Governor Roosevelt appointed to the commission Robert W. De Forest, who was elected chairman, and Lawrence Veiller, who was elected secretary.

Recommendations based on the detailed study made by this commission of the history of the tenement-house problem in New York, previous tenement legislation, law enforcement, and related matters were incorporated in the New York State Tenement House Act of 1901, which, according to James Ford, one of the most authoritative historians of American housing, "has served, directly or indirectly, as the chief working model for most of the tenement house legislation of America since that date."¹⁴ He further states:

The Tenement House Act of 1901 is the most significant regulatory act in America's history of housing. It progressed far beyond its predecessors in its scope, precision, and elaborate detail. It conferred more power upon administrative departments and severer penalties for infraction than had even before been enforced. . . .¹⁵

This act of 1901 made several radical departures from previous housing legislation. In general, its aims were to prohibit the worst practices in the erection of new tenements (since 1901 called "new law tenements") through detailed restrictions; to require alterations and improvements in the old tenements (since 1901 called "old-law tenements") necessary to make them fit for human habita-

¹⁴ James Ford, *Slums and Housing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), I, 217.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205. According to Ford (I, 216 n.), the Tenement House Law of 1901 was largely framed by Lawrence Veiller and I. N. Phelps Stokes, a member of the C.O.S. Tenement House Committee, who prepared most of the architectural specifications. Mr. Phelps Stokes was an original member of the Tenement House Commission of 1900.

tion; and to assure the maintenance of sanitary conditions in all multifamily dwellings through adequate official supervision. Some of the requirements for new tenements included elaborate fire-safety provisions, a window in every room, large courts, limitations on the percentage of the lot the building might cover, and a water closet and washing facilities in every apartment.

The enforcement provisions of the law were unique at that time and in some respects are so to this day. It required the establishment of a separate city Tenement House Department for enforcing the law, "the first permanent department of housing, amply empowered and financed, to be established in any American city."¹⁶ Unusual powers and responsibilities were conferred on the department for the supervision of both the construction and the maintenance of all tenement houses, both old and new. One notable principle on which the law was based was that discretionary powers to grant variances from provisions of the law were not to be conferred on the enforcing agency or any appellate body.

When the newly required Tenement House Department was established in New York under the city charter of 1901, Robert De Forest was appointed its first commissioner and Lawrence Veiller, deputy commissioner.

It appears doubtful that the C.O.S. Tenement House Committee would have long continued in existence had its original purpose of securing amendment of the city's building ordinances been achieved. As it turned out, however, its utter defeat at the hands of the Municipal Assembly served to stiffen its resistance and turned its attention to other and, as it developed, far more fruitful methods of attack. While all the hopes

aroused by enactment of the Tenement House Law of 1901 were not fulfilled and subsequent experience revealed weaknesses in some of its policies, it marked the beginning of a new era in housing in New York City and still stands as a milestone in the history of housing regulation in this country. Its enactment demonstrated to the committee the strength and value of organized citizen effort in bettering housing conditions and inspired in the group its abiding interest in furthering its stated purpose, "to improve housing conditions and support effective housing administration." Today, fifty years after its formation, it is the oldest citizens' housing organization in the country under the name of the "Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society of New York."¹⁷

II

The prominent part of the C.O.S. Tenement House Committee in the enactment of the Tenement House Law of 1901 exerted a dominant influence on the

¹⁷In 1938 the name of the committee was changed from the "Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society" to the "Committee on Housing of the Charity Organization Society" in response to "the changing point of view regarding housing" and because the name of the Tenement House Department, the municipal agency which the committee had helped to found, changed its name to the "Division of Housing of the Department of Housing and Buildings." One year later, on April 12, 1939, the Charity Organization Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor were merged to form the present Community Service Society of New York. Hence the name of the Committee on Housing of the Charity Organization Society became the "Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society."

The Community Service Society (C.S.S.) dates its origin from 1848, the year in which the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor was incorporated by an act of the state legislature, although the association actually began its work in 1843. Hence, the Community Service Society during 1948 has been observing its one hundredth anniversary, while its Committee on Housing marks its fiftieth year.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, I, 222.

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direction of the committee's subsequent interests and predetermined the selection of many of its future activities. For example, no sooner had the new act taken effect than it was promptly attacked by a group of building interests and construction supply dealers who, with the support of local banks and loan associations, introduced two bills in the state legislature to weaken some of the more stringent provisions of the new law. These assaults might have succeeded but for the spirited and stubborn defense against them by several civic organizations led by the Tenement House Committee. Following this event, the committee noted in its annual report that "one reason why there has not been greater progress in the past is that whenever a change in the law has been accomplished, those advocating that change have rested satisfied, feeling that they have accomplished their purpose."¹⁸ The committee resolved, therefore, that one of its main functions should be that of "watchdog" against similar attacks in the future. There has scarcely been a session of the legislature from that time to the present day in which attempts have not been made—often with very strong support—to weaken the law or undermine its effectiveness. Guarding against such threats, first against the Tenement House Law and later against the Multiple Dwelling Law, which superseded it in 1929, has continued to be a major purpose of the committee.

These attacks have appeared in various forms over the years, sometimes obvious, more often subtle, and almost always under the guise of furthering the public good. It is not infrequent that the source of such efforts and their real purpose can be discerned only after the most detailed study and persistent inquiry. As

statutory controls have expanded and their provisions have become more and more complex and technical, opportunity for devious stratagem has grown proportionately. Often attempts directed at relaxation of specific requirements of the law have been short lived and opportunistic; occasionally, they are organized campaigns doggedly pursued over long periods of time and unrelated to the expedencies of the moment. Naturally, the number of these maneuvers multiplies during periods of economic depression or inflation, housing shortage, or popular enthusiasms of the day, as for example, during the present vogue of veteran patronage.

The perennial attempts to emasculate the legal controls over three-family dwellings illustrate some of these characteristics. The annual reports of the committee, extending as far back as 1906, make repeated references to such efforts of various organized groups operating in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens. This type of dwelling appears to be a particularly vulnerable, and therefore tempting, point of attack to those set upon making inroads in the law, lying as it does on the very edge of the legal boundary between the multifamily or "multiple" dwelling and the "private" dwelling. The latter group includes one- and two-family houses only, which the Multiple Dwelling Law (as did the Tenement House Law which preceded it) excludes from its provisions; they are subject only to the general requirements of the local building code which, as far as it applies to this type of structure, is far less restrictive. Furthermore, official supervision of the maintenance of sanitary conditions in these one- and two-family dwellings, once occupied, is virtually nonexistent in New York. The financial advantage to the owner in transferring a

¹⁸ C.O.S. *Annual Report*, New York, 1902.

group of dwellings from the "multiple-dwelling" category to that of "private dwelling" can readily be seen: under present circumstances it would reduce legal structural requirements almost to a vanishing point and, for all practical purposes, would eliminate legal necessity for maintenance of occupancy standards. If three-family houses, for example, suddenly became "private dwellings," existing one- and two-family structures could be readily converted to three-family use with little or no regard for any standards except those which the owner himself might elect to maintain.¹⁹

This general situation has never failed to arouse the interest and to inspire the ingenuity of contractors or operators intent upon quick and easy profits. The argument is made that these smaller dwellings are generally owned by the "little man" or by impoverished elderly widows struggling to maintain themselves in their declining years on the shrinking revenues of the family homestead; more recently, of course, the veteran has been discovered as the owner or potential buyer of these smaller three-family houses. On this basis it is contended that restrictions which may appropriately be applied to huge multi-

¹⁹ The conditions found at present among some of New York's 432,000 one- and two-family dwellings, housing almost 25 per cent of the city's population, are a clear indication of what would probably happen to many of the three-family dwellings if removed from the scope of the Multiple Dwelling Law. A spot-check of the one- and two-family houses was made by the committee about a year ago during which a number of photographs were taken. Conditions in the worst of these dwellings were in many respects worse than anything found in the slum tenement districts. The solution to the problem obviously lies in establishing equivalent structural and maintenance requirements for one- and two-family dwellings; but this is not easy of achievement owing to complicating jurisdictional and other factors which may take several years to solve. The committee has been interested in this problem for the last two years.

family apartment houses owned by large, impersonal corporations are entirely uncalled for with respect to smaller houses in which the owner himself may live and develop a warm personal interest in the welfare of his tenants. For similar reasons, and as a proposed solution to the present housing shortage, tax concessions, in varying forms and degrees up to complete exemption with little or no financial or other restrictions, are also advocated for the smaller type of two- and three-unit dwelling. Not long ago, two building contractors even argued that dispensations such as these must be allowed as a solution to the rising delinquency problem, on the grounds that home ownership would thereby be stimulated, which, in turn, would instil into the new landlords respect for property rights, a broad concern for civic improvement, and a paternal interest in rearing their own families properly, which they may not have felt before. The most recent attempt was made during the legislative session of 1948, when a bill was introduced on behalf of a group of Bronx contractors. A similar bill had been defeated during 1947, which the C.S.S. Committee on Housing, along with other organizations, had strongly opposed. Early in the 1948 session a representative of the contractors got in touch with the Committee on Housing and, on learning that it planned to continue its opposition to the measure, soundly denounced the committee as "unpatriotic" for obstructing their bill which would appreciably reduce the cost of homes for veterans by the simple expedient of all but eliminating legal construction requirements.

These threats to minimum legal standards have not been confined to the law-making body alone. The local courts, on the whole, have not, through the years,

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given strong and sympathetic support to enforcement. Sometimes court rulings based on narrow interpretations of the law have threatened its effectiveness. One such notable instance occurred in 1912. Reference has already been made to the popular distinction between tenement and apartment houses. The Tenement House Law made no such distinction, all multifamily dwellings containing "three families or more, living independently of one another," being classified as tenements, whether old or new law. Both terms, "apartment house" and "tenement house," were used in the local building code, but it had always seemed clear that all requirements for tenement houses applied with equal force to those dwellings which the code defined as "apartment houses" plus certain added requirements for apartment houses. In a case brought before the state Court of Appeals, however, it was held that there was a legal difference between apartment and tenement houses, the distinguishing features being the separate kitchens, the separate water closets, and the set bathtubs of the former group. The practical effect of this decision was to remove virtually all multifamily dwellings built since 1901—classified as new-law tenements by the Tenement House Law—from under the coverage of that law; by a few simple alterations, the remainder of the new-law tenements could also be removed. Fortunately, the legislature was in session at the time, and the Tenement House Department, with the energetic support of the C.O.S. Tenement House Committee and the Tenement House Committee of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities,²⁰ was able to secure an emer-

gency message from the governor; under the leadership of Senator Robert F. Wagner, Sr.,²¹ then majority leader of the New York State Senate, a bill was passed in both houses of the legislature within twenty-four hours, which brought the newly defined "apartment houses" back under the Tenement House Law.

These illustrations are not meant to imply that attempts at whittling down the requirements of existing statutes have never succeeded or that all proposals advanced or advocated by property-holders are intrinsically evil. On the contrary, the property interests are well known as both articulate and powerful, and not infrequently they have substantial reason for the changes which they seek. The point to be made here is simply that one of the important functions of citizens' housing groups, as exemplified by the fifty-year history of the C.S.S. Committee on Housing, is that of guarding against the relaxation of those legally required housing standards which are necessary to prevent abuse and exploitation and which insure that the houses which are provided will meet recognized requirements for the health, safety, and decency of the people who will live in them. Even when defense against encroachment upon such standards has not proved adequate, these housing associations are frequently a force in substantially mitigating the damage that might otherwise result from weakening legislation.

But holding the ground gained is only a part of the total picture: advances must be made, imperfections in existing

²¹ Senator Wagner is now a member of the U.S. Senate. His deep interest in housing is well known. He was the co-author of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, under which the public housing program in this country really began. He is also one of the co-sponsors of the important Taft-Ellender-Wagner General Housing Bill, which has been pending before Congress for the last two years.

²⁰ The Tenement House Committee of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities (now the Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service) was founded in 1910. It is now called the "Housing Committee of the Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service."

law corrected, and—most important and, unfortunately, most difficult—the law must be enforced. It is one thing to know that a proposed amendment to an existing law is bad and why and to be able to defeat it; it is quite another to draft a tentative proposal that is good and to be able to secure its enactment. Not only must such a proposal be intrinsically sound—that is, if put into effect, it will achieve the desired result, assuming that result to be desirable—but also it must be of such a nature that it *can* be put into effect. Once these requirements are met, there is the job of getting the lawmaking body to understand why the particular proposal should be enacted into law and then of seeing that it is enacted. And if and when all this is accomplished, there still remains the dreary and unending business of enforcement.

The records of the Committee on Housing over its fifty years contain numerous descriptions of research, studies, and conferences concerning tentative proposals for improvements in the Tenement House Law and, later, of the Multiple Dwelling Law. Suggestions for amendments have come from a variety of sources: individual members of the committee, officials in charge of enforcing agencies, housing inspectors, experiences of other agencies in other cities or in different fields, and the individual complaints of families known to the Community Service Society or to other social agencies and the observations of case workers and nurses in working with those families. For many years the committee has received complaints on bad housing conditions, has investigated them, filed them with appropriate city departments with authority to correct the violations of the law, and has followed them up periodically with these departments to insure their correction and to keep in touch with enforcement procedure and effec-

tiveness. This work has revealed weaknesses in the law as well as in its enforcement and has proved a fruitful source of suggestion for needed changes.

Many of the proposals which the committee has submitted to legislators were first made the subject of research projects, in order both to determine whether the nature and extent of a given problem warranted legislative action and to provide information and data that could be used in support of a measure advanced for its solution. Nevertheless, it has often taken several years to effect some improvements in the law even where there has been ample evidence of their desirability.

The amount of effort and the length of time that are sometimes required is illustrated by the committee's efforts to correct abuses in rooming- and boarding-houses. As early as 1917 the committee made a survey of a number of these establishments which disclosed serious overcrowding, inadequate protection against fire hazards, and lack of sufficient sanitary facilities. The boarding-house proprietors had employed an easy device to circumvent the law: they simply did not provide kitchens, even though cooking was not necessarily prohibited. Since the tenement-house law defined a tenement as a dwelling in which three or more families lived independently of one another and *cooked* on the premises, the claim was made and upheld by the courts that, where there were no kitchens, there was no cooking, and hence boarding-houses did not come within the scope of the law or the jurisdiction of the Tenement House Department. Despite repeated attempts to amend the law to include these dwellings, it was not until the Multiple Dwelling Law was enacted in 1929 that they were definitely covered, and not until the 1940's that several requirements to elimi-

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nate all the major abuses were finally inserted into the law. Some of these resulted from a study by the committee in 1939, published under the title *Life in One Room*.

While it is true that the struggle for minimum boarding- and rooming-house standards is in some respects unusual, there have been few changes in the law which have taken less than two, three, or more years. The records of the Committee on Housing show that it was a dozen or more years after the committee began work on the problem of cellar occupancy that cellars were legally declared unfit for human habitation. More than three years were required to secure adequate powers for the city to demolish abandoned, unboarded dwellings, following several previous months of research and collection of data; even now the powers are not adequate although they have been supplemented by later city statute. Dozens of amendments to fire-safety provisions have been achieved, many of which were the work of four or five years; these began as far back as 1913, when the committee was instrumental in making two independent means of egress a requirement for all multifamily dwellings.

One proposal on which the committee has been engaged since 1942, as yet without success, would be a decided forward step in housing improvement for New York. If enacted, it would require all future multifamily dwellings over three stories in height to be of fireproof construction. At present, nonfireproof dwellings six stories in height are permitted and far outnumber those of fireproof construction of similar height.²² Aside from the safety factor, fireproof construction

has other important advantages, including retardation of deterioration, simplification and reduction in cost of maintenance, and elimination of rat and vermin harborage. Detailed studies on comparative costs in which technically qualified members of the Committee on Housing have participated, indicate that the construction cost per room is less for fireproof than for nonfireproof construction and the return on the investment greater. Opposition to the proposal has come almost entirely from taxpayers' associations and financial institutions who fear for their investments in nonfireproof dwellings, should this type of construction be rendered obsolete by statute.

Two other achievements of the C.S.S. Committee on Housing in improving the law deserve special mention. One was its participation in the framing of the Multiple Dwelling Law of 1929 and its clarification of that law over ten years later. By the close of the 1920's the Tenement House Law had become archaic in several respects owing to technical advance in fireproof construction, mechanical ventilation, and space economy. Loopholes in the law, owing to difficulties of definition and classification of new types of dwellings, were causing growing disrespect for the law. In 1927 Governor Alfred E. Smith appointed a Temporary Commission To Examine and Revise the Tenement House Law. The commission was composed of eight members of the state legislature, plus three other members, two of whom were also members of the C.O.S. Committee on Housing, namely, Darwin R. James and Lawson Purdy.²³ Mr. Purdy, at that time chairman of the C.O.S. Committee, served as secretary to the commission. The Mul-

²² New York City is far behind other cities with respect to requirements for fireproof construction in relation to height. A check with most large communities made by the Committee on Housing in 1945 showed that almost all these cities prohibit nonfireproof dwellings above three or four stories high.

²³ Mr. Purdy was chairman of the Committee on Housing from 1916 to 1936. He has been a member of the Board of the Community Service Society since 1932.

multiple Dwelling Law, which was enacted following the two years' work of the commission, contained many of the recommendations that the Committee on Housing made to the commission.

The general aim of the Multiple Dwelling Law was to define and to place all types of dwellings (except one- and two-family houses) under the jurisdiction of the Tenement House Department in order to prevent evasions of the law based on technicalities of definition. Provision was made for greater elasticity of design and reduction of unit cost of rentable area by permitting wider choice of building materials in relation to the type of structure. All future multiple dwellings, regardless of type, were to be subject to uniform standards governing height and bulk in order to prevent "blanketing by very tall and bulky buildings and towers" in residential areas. Provisions for proper ventilation and fire-protection in cooking spaces were improved and minimum standards established for converted dwellings (houses originally constructed for one or two families and later "converted" to multiple use). Sanitary and fire-protection standards in old-law tenements were raised, and occupancy of dark cellars was prohibited. Owners and tenants were made legally responsible for cleanliness and fire-safety in all multiple dwellings. The general powers of the Tenement House Department were relatively unchanged, although the authority of the department to enforce the law was somewhat enhanced. While the new law marked an advance in several respects over the Tenement House Law of 1901, it was not without its shortcomings. By 1929, building regulation and maintenance had grown extremely complex and the new Multiple Dwelling Law reflected this complexity. Not all its provisions

proved workable. In the decade following its enactment, over two hundred amendments were added to its more than three hundred sections; it contained a bewildering number of references and cross-references, and the language of the statute was, in some places, so vague and ambiguous that its meaning was unintelligible to laymen and owners, and occasionally to lawyers. By the end of the 1930's, the law with all its amendments had become so complicated and cumbersome that the Division of Housing of the Department of Housing and Buildings,²⁴ which administered the law, complained that these complexities were a serious obstacle to public understanding and effective enforcement. Following several futile efforts to induce the state legislature to undertake a thorough revision, the C.S.S. Committee on Housing undertook the task itself, the general purpose of which was to recodify the law and to revise its language with a view to clarification. With financial grants from the New York Housing Trust and the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, a two-year study was begun in 1942. Before it was completed, and under the stimulus of the work of the Committee on Housing, a legislative committee, the Joint Legislative Committee To Recodify the Multiple Dwelling Law, was created to undertake the official redrafting of the law. Almost all the recommendations of the Committee on Housing, based on its study, were incorporated in the newly drafted Multiple Dwelling Law, which was passed by the legislature and signed by the governor in 1946.

The other statutory advance in which the C.S.S. Committee on Housing actively participated should be mentioned

²⁴ The Tenement House Department of New York became the Division of Housing of the Department of Housing and Buildings in 1938 as a result of a revision of the city charter.

because of its importance in the development of comprehensive city planning in the United States, which began in the second decade of the twentieth century. Comprehensive city planning "in its economic and social form, as distinct from the strictly aesthetic,"²⁵ began in 1913 with the city plan for Newark, New Jersey, which was drawn by George B. Ford and Ernest P. Goodrich.²⁶ This plan exerted considerable influence on the subsequent development of New York City and later of hundreds of other communities throughout the country. In the same year, the New York City Board of Estimate adopted a resolution to study the height, size, and arrangements of buildings within the city with special emphasis on their economic and social effects. A Height of Buildings Commission was appointed, consisting of eight members, four of whom were members of the C.O.S. Tenement House Committee. They were Lawrence Veiller, Lawson Purdy, Otto M. Eidlitz, and C. Grant La Farge.²⁷ The work of this commission resulted in the first comprehensive zoning resolution, enacted in 1916. By its provisions New York extended the principle of restrictive legislation, effectively applied to tenement houses in 1901, to the broader field of city planning by segregating industrial, commercial, and residential structures and by limiting the height and bulk of all buildings thereafter erected in accordance with districts into which the city was divided for the purpose. Since 1916 the comprehensive zoning principle

²⁵ Ford, *op. cit.*, I, 205-6.

²⁶ Mr. Goodrich, a distinguished civil engineer, has been a member of the C.S.S. Committee on Housing since 1923.

²⁷ Mr. Eidlitz and Mr. La Farge later became officers of the U.S. Housing Corporation. Mr. La Farge did not become a member of the C.O.S. Committee until a few years after his work on the Height of Buildings Commission.

has been applied to many other cities throughout the country.

The files and records of the C.S.S. Committee on Housing dating back to the formation of the Tenement House Department created to enforce the Tenement House Law of 1901 tell an unfinished story of the long, monotonous struggle for effective enforcement of the law. It undoubtedly exemplifies all the major problems associated with the administration of regulatory law in general. There has been and still is the lack of sufficient qualified inspectors and staff, the unending problem of insufficient funds, the difficulties of sympathetic understanding by the courts, the hampering series of obstructions to enforcement arising out of newly discovered technical loopholes in the law, and the recurrent battle against pressure to abolish or submerge the department. There is scarcely a single annual report of the committee during the last forty-seven years which does not contain mention of effort on one or another aspect of these complex problems, from appeals at public hearings and demonstrations for more adequate appropriations for the department to studies of the internal functioning of the department itself, followed by appropriate recommendations to the city administration.

And yet there has been progress. When the severe handicaps under which the Division of Housing of the Department of Housing and Buildings labors and the staggering dimensions of its job are fully appreciated, the work of enforcing the standards of the law has been successful to a remarkable degree. The worst conditions have been removed; fire-safety provisions have been rigidly enforced; sanitary facilities have been installed; some of the worst buildings have been demolished. If the slum dwellings in New York

today are compared with the appalling descriptions of the tenements of 1900, the slow year-by-year progress is more clearly apparent. Nevertheless, there is much to be desired. How administrative agencies charged with enforcement of housing regulations can accomplish what would reasonably be considered an adequate job today, remains a major unanswered question in the field. Solutions to many phases of this complex problem lie in areas of municipal government far beyond the limits of what is ordinarily classified as housing and building regulation.

III

The Committee on Housing, beginning its work as it did during the wave of enthusiasm for restrictive legislation which dominated public thinking at the beginning of the century, has devoted a considerable amount of its time and energy ever since to helping develop and improve this form of public control. The efficacy of this method of eradicating and preventing the worst evils and abuses in housing and city development is now widely accepted, although, as already indicated, its perfection is far from complete.

What was not generally appreciated in 1900, except by a few leaders here and there, was that restrictive legislation has a major limitation: while it may prevent the worst, it does not inevitably produce the best. When effective governmental controls over the construction and maintenance of tenements were applied in 1901, it was the hope of the members of the C.O.S. Tenement House Committee that these restrictions would eventually eliminate slums. A few members of the committee, however, had misgivings; in their view, research and experiment with model tenements would point the way for the building industry to perfect its

product and to inspire investors to lend their money for the construction of these socially more desirable though financially less attractive dwellings. But "philanthropy and 5 per cent," as it was called, failed to take hold.

The committee was interested but skeptical of the "municipally owned tenements" which were beginning to appear in Europe, notably Great Britain. While Robert W. De Forest and Lawrence Veiller were serving on the Tenement House Commission of 1900, they wrote the following statement for the Commission which undoubtedly reflected public opinion at that time:

At most such public buildings (municipally provided and managed tenements) would better the living conditions of a favored few, who had sufficient influence to secure apartments in them and even these would better their living conditions at the sacrifice of self-dependence. If such model tenements are intended to set an example and to demonstrate what can be done to provide better housing conditions, they will furnish no better demonstration than private benevolence has furnished in the past and can be relied upon to furnish in the future. If they are intended to house the working people, they can at most house only a very small proportion, and by so housing this small proportion they will prevent the greatest number from being effectively housed by other means, for private enterprise will not compete with municipal bounty, and when cities begin to build tenements other tenement building will cease. No large city can provide homes for all its working people. So vast an enterprise could not be seriously contemplated. If by providing for a few it prevented provision for many, the average condition of the working classes would be worse than before the city began to build. Nor would there be any limit to the scope of municipal building operations if once they were begun. If cities, however, are to become landlords at all, where should the wage line be drawn between those for whom they should and those for whom they should not provide? Where, in practice, would the line be drawn in American cities where democracy reigns supreme, and the limit of public bounty would be ultimately

fixed by popular vote? Even if municipal building did not stop private enterprise, and the municipal buildings were managed without favoritism or those evils which too often attend government ownership, other objections would still exist. Tenement house management is largely a question of good housekeeping and prompt business method, involving wide discretion and full power. The average city official would not be likely to be a good housekeeper; nor, even if he were able to forget that he owed his place in some degree at least to those whom he was aiding his city to house, could he use prompt business methods and exercise individual discretion under the necessarily cumbersome and mechanical methods of government system. The municipal tenement would inevitably be forced to the wall in competition with similar buildings under private ownership. Its rooms would be frequently vacant or its rents would be lowered to hold tenants, and it would become, more than before, an increasing burden to the taxpayer, without any corresponding good to the working classes. Moreover, such buildings would introduce a new element into public service, already sufficiently complex, and add so many more to the already large numbers of government servants. If tenanted with a view to votes, they might be so located and utilized by the political party in power as to perpetuate its control.²⁸

The subsequent years brought no solution to the problem of "housing the working classes" in decent housing they could afford. In 1906 the committee made a study and drew up plans for a model housing development which was submitted to a new industrial concern on Staten Island. It was recommended that the dwellings be built and subsidized by the factory to solve a serious problem of providing adequate shelter for its employees. The proposal made little impression on the managers of the factory.

In 1908 and again a decade or two later the committee assisted in trying to establish an advisory service for landlords, in co-operation with the Tenement House Department, to make suggestions to owners for meeting requirements of

minimum standards at the least possible cost. While this idea seems feasible, it failed to make an appreciable contribution toward reducing rising rents or toward increasing the supply of decent housing for families of low wage.

In 1911 an "intensive study" was undertaken to determine whether any new methods of construction were possible to produce homes which "working men" could afford and which would also pay a fair return on the investment. The committee reluctantly came to the conclusion that it was doubtful whether this could be accomplished.

In a mood of despair brought on by the housing shortage and price increases of World War I, the committee wrote in its annual report for 1918:

The sickening thing about housing of the poor is the fact that never in the history of the city have new homes been within the reach of the purses of the poor. They have always been condemned to live in old, outworn houses. As wages rise, housing costs rise and new houses are still beyond the purses of the poor; indeed, new houses just now are beyond the purses of many we might call rich. It is good for us to face this fact. We should prevent the erection of houses that are unsafe, insanitary, and lacking the decencies of life, but preventive measures alone do not increase the total number of rooms for rent. Are wages still too low in proportion to the expense of living? Do houses cost too much because we lack inventive ability? Have we distributed the public burden so that rent payers bear too large a share of the cost of government? Do all these costs, perhaps, co-operate to crowd our people into too few rooms with too little light, with too little space about them?²⁹

It was a full decade before the final effects of the housing shortage following World War I subsided, but the problem of providing decent housing for families of low wage persisted. By 1928 official reports indicated an average vacancy rate of 7 per cent in apartments through-

²⁸ De Forest and Veiller, *op. cit.*, I, 44.

²⁹ C.O.S. *Annual Report*, New York, 1918.

out the city and the building industry was producing what it considered a normal supply of new houses. Yet the C.O.S. Committee, in its own investigations that year, found no reason to be cheered: most of the vacancies were appearing in the worst of the old-law tenements, many of which had been abandoned prior to the war and had been pressed back into service during the critical shortage. It was only in these outmoded and unfit tenements that the families of low income were able to find houses within their financial reach. The committee closed its 1928 report that year with the hope that the building program "will soon bring new-law tenements within the means of the majority of wage earners."³⁰

Meanwhile, the beginnings of governmental intervention to encourage the construction of lower-cost housing began to appear during the decade of the 1920's. New York State had granted tax exemption on new construction following World War I, as a means of alleviating the housing shortage. This experience was not without its lessons: the failure of adequate controls to assure construction of dwellings with minimum standards and within given price ranges resulted in the production of quantities of poorly built houses which constitute much of the potential slum areas in New York today. In 1926 the state in co-operation with New York City launched a program of "limited dividend" housing under which tax benefits would be granted; reasonable limit on the financial return and adequate standards of design and construction were to be assured by state su-

³⁰ C.O.S. *Annual Report, New York, 1928*. There still remain in New York today between forty thousand and forty-five thousand old-law tenements, about half the number which existed in 1900 when the Tenement House Committee began its work. These old dwellings house approximately a half-million families. They have been aptly called "the hard core" of New York's slum problem.

pervision. Undoubtedly owing to these controls, this program has produced little in the twenty years since it was begun.³¹ What was produced was within the middle-income, not the low-income, range, demonstrating that the subsidy provided by tax exemption alone could not reach the low-income family.

It was with this long experience of futile effort in search of ways by which low-income families could be decently housed at prices they could afford to pay, that the committee finally—and with some reluctance—came to the conclusion that public housing, subsidized with public funds, was the only feasible method under present conditions. Other methods and devices which the committee had observed and studied—model demonstration tenements, inducements of one kind or another to private investors, tax exemptions, the "filtering-down" process,³² limited dividend, and "co-operative" housing—had all proved futile in making an appreciable contribution to the supply of decent housing for the lowest-paid segment of the population. While recognizing that public provision and operation of housing for the lowest-income group is the only demonstrated method so far devised for tackling this portion of the housing problem, it continues its interest in aiding and encouraging private enterprise to enable it to broaden its market to reach lower-income segments of the population.

³¹ There are at present only eleven limited-dividend housing developments in New York, housing a total of 5,882 middle-income families.

³² The "filtering-down" process is that by which construction of new accommodations for high-income families makes available the dwellings they vacate for occupancy by those of lower income, who, in turn, vacate other premises which can be used by persons of lowest income. While there is undoubtedly a certain amount of "filtering down" under normal conditions, the process has never solved the problem of housing low-income families adequately.

Consequently, the committee has supported public housing since the enactment of the United States Housing Act of 1937, under which the nation's permanent public housing program really began. It has likewise supported the New York State public housing program, which started in 1939 following a state constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to appropriate state funds for loans and subsidies for this purpose. All major amendments to the public housing laws are included in the committee's legislative program, to be studied and followed in the same manner as those which deal with housing regulation, urban redevelopment, and tenant protection. When the Taft-Ellender-Wagner General Housing Bill was first introduced in the United States Congress two years ago, following exhaustive studies and hearings of a subcommittee of the Senate, the committee went on record as supporting the measure both because of its numerous aids to private enterprise and because of its extension of the federal public housing program. This measure has been the only one so far offered which proposes to make a comprehensive workable attack on a problem which long experience has shown is futile to attack on a piecemeal basis; the current housing shortage, and other such crises which have occurred in the past, are not indications of new problems which have suddenly appeared full-blown overnight, but rather are aggravations of old problems, intensified by the upheavals of war. Palliative measures and piecemeal attacks will not suffice; a broad, comprehensive solution is the only permanent solution.

Public housing has not produced the anticipated evils that were feared and expressed so vividly in the report of the Tenement House Commission of 1900. Reasonably adequate checks have been devised for controlling the quantity of

public housing produced. It has not competed with private enterprise in the sense that "other tenement building will cease"; the only competition it has offered to private enterprise, and is able to offer under legislative restrictions, is the competition with the slum, which public housing is meant to help eradicate. In many respects, public housing has been a demonstration of economy in production and management and has a good record of "prompt business method" and "good housekeeping." While its methods of tenant selection and eligibility requirements need much further study, present practice has worked sufficiently well to allay the anxiety of those who feared that "the wage line" could not be drawn "between those for whom it should and those for whom it should not provide." Political corruption has been kept at a minimum under careful organization of the authorities established to administer the program. Since the quantity of public housing so far produced is extremely small, the burden has not been excessive and has been compensated for both by the elimination of some of the needless costs of slums which public housing has replaced and, especially, by the values in human welfare which it has contributed. Nor has the public housing program brought a sharp rise in the dependency of tenant families; there is evidence to show that, at least in a substantial number of known instances, the contrary has been the case, and, where dependency has appeared, it would indicate a need for perfection of administrative and management procedure rather than for abolition of the program.

As is often the case in new ventures, the major problems which have appeared with the growth of public housing are, for the most part, ones which were not anticipated. One of these, which is of special interest to social workers, is that of

the provision of community facilities in connection with new housing developments and the appropriate and effective methods of integrating the new communities, which large housing developments create, with their surrounding neighborhoods. With regard to this problem the C.S.S. Committee on Housing is now planning a joint undertaking with the New York City Housing Authority in one of the city's new public housing developments to explore the limits and to demonstrate what can and what cannot be done in this field, with available private and public resources. In many respects, this will be a pioneer effort in one phase of public housing little understood since public housing began over a decade ago.

IV

A review of fifty years of effort—both successful and unsuccessful—of a civic organization such as the Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society arouses both an exhilarating and a sobering reaction. The agonizing year-by-year struggles for the eradication of the worst evils in the housing of American families, when placed beside the major strides that have been made over the relatively brief span of half a century, are overlooked in the realization of what this progress has meant to the safety, health, and general welfare of people. A sense of encouragement replaces frustration and acts as a challenge and a spur to greater achievement. Yet it cannot be forgotten that many of the advances came only after years of sustained effort, based on long study and the gathering of accurate data. Like Rome, our cities are not built in a day, nor are they built by good intentions and "liberal attitudes" alone.

The story of the long record of the

C.S.S. Committee on Housing is suggestive of some conclusions regarding the function and value of such a group, as well as its limitations. As an aid to planning its program and in order to make its most valuable contribution as part of a health and family welfare agency, the committee endeavors to restrict its efforts to those which, in its opinion, will have the most immediate bearing upon family life. Its present functions can be listed briefly as (1) improvement of existing laws which directly relate to housing; (2) vigilance over effective administration of those laws; (3) research and studies in the field of housing on problems which come within its area of competence and within the scope of the resources at its disposal; (4) public interpretation through issuance of reports of its studies and through occasional speeches by staff before civic groups interested in special phases of housing; (5) receiving of complaints of bad housing conditions from individual families known to the social agency of which it is a part, and effort to correct these conditions.

These functions are, on the whole, typical of the estimated seventy-five private or unofficial housing associations throughout the country today. While specific programs and special emphases naturally vary from one organization to another, the establishment by law and the enforcement of socially desirable minimum housing standards, research undertakings, promotion of programs for reclamation of slum areas, and public education appear to be their chief functions.³³

It might be pointed out here that the chronic problem of the high cost of hous-

³³ Joseph H. Bunzel, "Citizens' Housing Associations, Educators in Social Policy," *Journal of Housing*, April, 1947 (National Association of Housing Officials, Chicago, Ill.).

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ing production, which has been so acutely aggravated since the close of the war, appears to lie beyond the resources and the direct influence of private housing associations. Public subsidy for housing the lowest-income segments of the population and appropriate governmental aid and stimulus to private housing for middle-income families are undeniably necessary in the present condition of the housing industry. Yet, such efforts leave the kernel of the problem relatively untouched or, in so far as they ameliorate the most urgent needs, may even relax the pressure for modernization of methods of home production. A few years ago the Committee on Housing undertook an exploratory study relating to rationalization of the building industry; it decided after several months of effort that this involved subject lay beyond its area of competence and the resources at its command.

The philosophy of the committee, judging from its operation over the years, is that of securing improvement through *sustained* effort based on the reputation it has tried to earn for its sincerity and its knowledge. Its history, while it reveals failure in many of its efforts and abandonment of some undertakings found to be impractical of achievement, shows little evidence of sporadic effort; what it has undertaken, it has tried to complete to the best of its ability. Its members are well-qualified representatives of their respective fields of law, education, architecture, engineering, city planning, business, medicine, and other areas of endeavor related more or less closely to housing. One other characteristic of its work is that it has consistently tried to maintain sound friendly and sympathetic relations with the numerous public officials and agencies with whom its work brings it into close contact. It has never sacrificed a real gain for a sen-

sational headline, yet it has not neglected to express its convictions when such action was necessary and might bring results.

A realistic recognition of limitations of time, of staff, and of resources in the program of any civic group of this kind is an absolute necessity if what is undertaken is to be done efficiently and effectively. There are also what might be called "intrinsic" limitations. Such a committee is not, nor should it be, an over-all planning body with ready solutions for every problem and answers for every question. The problem of how to provide decent homes for all, in well-designed communities, within well-ordered and well-planned cities, is at once so complex and so vast that to assume that it is the province of any one group is the height of absurdity. On the other hand, the formulation and promotion of cures for specific ills in the housing field or the housing industry in utter disregard of the possible consequences upon other important aspects of the housing problem is equally unrealistic. The host of ready-made solutions currently being offered for the housing shortage supply ample illustration of both these extremes. Carving out a segment of the total problem within the area of competence of the committee—to which it can make its most valuable, and perhaps unique, contribution, always mindful that it is a *segment*—is the only logical course. To work at what Mrs. Wootton calls "planning at the circumference,"³⁴ as contrasted with broad governmental planning at the center, is no less important for being less pretentious.

COMMITTEE ON HOUSING
COMMUNITY SERVICE SOCIETY
OF NEW YORK

³⁴ Barbara Wootton, *Freedom under Planning* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945).

NEW YORK STATE REVIEWS ITS FOSTER-CARE SYSTEM

C. WILLIAM CHILMAN

READERS of the *Review* will recall two earlier articles¹ describing the reorganization of New York State's public welfare program and culminating in the passage of chapter 200, Laws of 1946. This new body of law, as those articles pointed out, resulted in the substitution of legal residence for the outworn concept of legal settlement, set forth various optional patterns of public welfare administration applicable to county and city public welfare districts, and increased the level of state reimbursement on local public assistance costs to 80 per cent (i.e., 80 per cent of home relief costs and the difference between 80 per cent and the federal share of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, and Old Age Assistance costs). These and other changes in the state's public welfare system were accomplished as a result of the work of the Special Committee on Social Welfare and Relief of the legislature, of which the Honorable Harold C. Ostertag, member of the Assembly, was and continues to be, chairman.

Relating as it did largely to public assistance and general administrative considerations in the public welfare field, the special committee's earlier work left untouched a number of complex, specialized problems—such as child welfare and foster-care services of local public welfare departments, veteran assistance, care of adults in various types of public and pri-

vate homes, and hospital care as provided by local public welfare agencies. It was recognized at the time that all these programs presented baffling problems that required careful review before any improving legislation could be proposed.

The present article is designed to describe how one of these special "problem areas," namely foster-care of children, has been approached by the committee, what problems have been revealed by the committee's study of how foster-care operates in New York State, what has been included in the 1948 legislative program of the committee, and what further problems remain to be explored.

The term "foster-care of children" was originally conceived of by the committee as applying to that part of local public welfare programs that involves the care of children in various types of foster-homes, institutions, and other substitute care. It was recognized, however, that, while foster-care is a major responsibility of all public welfare departments throughout the state, by its very nature it involves many complex relationships with children's courts; private child-caring institutions and child-placing agencies; state institutions for the mentally defective, the mentally ill, the delinquent, the deaf, and the blind; and various other types of child-caring organizations and agencies. Unlike public assistance, foster-care was seen as a program that cannot always be discharged directly by the public agency; that is, up to a certain point the public agency may secure and utilize various types of foster-home care or may provide care and supervision in

¹ Robert T. Lansdale and Byron T. Hipple, Jr., "Integration of Social Welfare Services: State Organization," and Harold C. Ostertag, "New York Revises and Simplifies Its Public Welfare System," in *Social Service Review*, XX (March, 1946), 1-17.

the child's own home or in the home of relatives. Beyond that, where the child requires institutional care or some other form of foster-care which the public welfare department cannot itself provide, the child is committed or referred to the appropriate institution or agency for the actual care and service required, the public agency usually retaining responsibility for payment for his care and for further planning in connection with his welfare. Foster-care in New York State thus becomes a divided responsibility as between public agencies, on the one hand, and a vast network of private agencies and institutions, on the other.

This is not to say that all responsibility for foster-care remains basically with departments of public welfare, however. Nearly all private child-caring agencies and institutions throughout the state receive children from other sources, either on a private referral basis on direct commitment or remand of a children's court or on referral from other social agencies.

The role of children's courts with respect to foster-care is another important facet of this entire field. The upstate Children's Court Act, the special county Children's Court acts, and the Domestic Relations Court Law applying to New York City all give children's courts broad authority with respect to the care of delinquent, neglected, abandoned, defective, and handicapped children; and it is by virtue of this authority that many children are either committed or discharged to commissioners of public welfare for foster-care and supervision or directly to various private institutions or agencies for the same purpose.

Owing to its recognition that foster-care of children is a unique program, because of these many interrelationships and complexities, the Special Committee on Social Welfare and Relief concluded

that any inquiry into the field of foster-care only would have to take into account not the foster-care programs and procedures of departments of public welfare throughout the state but must also apply to the functions of children's courts in this field and to the programs of child-caring institutions and private child-placing agencies. All these constitute a related whole, and no one of them can be examined except in relation to the others. Hence, a comprehensive inquiry into the care of all children in New York State under care away from their own homes was determined upon, and a special Subcommittee on Foster Care of Children was appointed, under whose direction the inquiry has been made and from whom appropriate recommendations are being transmitted in due course to the Special Committee on Social Welfare and Relief as a whole.

It was quite apparent that, whereas the original interest of the committee had been in finding a means of state reimbursement of local public foster-care costs, the whole child-care system of the state had to be reviewed before the problem of reimbursement could be intelligently approached.

For the purposes of the committee's study, the term "foster-care" has applied to all children under eighteen years of age in New York State who because of social need are under care away from their own homes and who are referred to in article 6 of the State's Social Welfare Law as destitute, neglected, delinquent, abandoned, or physically or mentally handicapped. The term also includes children born out of wedlock, children placed for adoption, children in detention care, children with personality or behavior difficulties, and others presenting special placement problems. There are approximately 42,500 such children

in foster-care in the state at the present time. The definition has not included children already in the care of state institutions for the mentally ill and mentally defective, children in institutions of a primarily educational character, children in general or specialized hospital care, children in day nurseries and day-care centers, and finally those receiving public assistance in their own homes.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FOSTER-CARE

Historically the development of foster-care services in New York State involves both Dutch and English traditions and spans the entire history of child welfare in this country, all the way from the simple poor-relief expediency of the Colonial pioneers to the complex public and private administrative patterns of the present day. Prior to the Revolutionary War, apprenticeship and indenture were the chief means of caring for children who could not remain with their own families. The binding-out of dependent and neglected children did not, however, become a recognized public welfare function until after the Revolution, when it was placed in the hands of local overseers of the poor. No private agencies entered the field until 1797, when the first private child-caring agency, namely, the Ladies' Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, made its appearance in New York City as a result of the problems created by a series of yellow-fever epidemics. From that point on, institutions and child-placing agencies began to be established gradually, under private auspices, received lump-sum grants from the state treasury, and continued to appear for well over a century.

The prevailing method of foster-care during the great part of the nineteenth century, however, was care in county

almshouses. These received their impetus under the almshouse act of 1824; and, despite the steady growth of private agencies and institutions in the years that followed, the almshouses carried the major load. In the year 1866, owing largely to the fact that so many children were left orphaned by the Civil War, the almshouses were caring for a peak load of 26,000 children. It was not until 1875 that retention in almshouses of healthy children over three years of age (later reduced to two years) was prohibited. The act which set forth this prohibition also authorized poor-law officers to board children, when practicable, in family homes.

Meanwhile, the legislature had become concerned over the claims for state funds from private agencies and institutions and, in order to establish the validity of these claims and to counteract the mismanagement and poor care that had been found to exist in many cases, had in 1867 created the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charity, forerunner of the present-day State Department of Social Welfare.

Space does not permit a description of all the rapid developments that have taken place in the child welfare field in New York State since the passage of the children's act of 1875, just mentioned. The first licensing law governing fosterboarding homes was enacted in 1883 and broadened in succeeding years. Under the constitutional amendment of 1894, the State Board of Charities was empowered to visit and inspect private agencies and institutions caring for children, although this was later interpreted as applying only to those agencies and institutions in receipt of public funds. Universal inspection and control did not, surprisingly enough, become a reality until 1931. Legislation providing control of

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boarding homes was supplemented in 1898, by legislation requiring persons and agencies placing children to be licensed. Meanwhile, with the help of the State Charities Aid Association, county children's agencies (actually the forerunners of the child welfare divisions of present-day county and city departments of welfare) began to be established, as a means of arranging suitable foster-care for children who were local public charges. The year 1915 saw the advent of mothers' allowances; in 1921 the constitution was amended to permit the establishment of children's courts, which was followed in 1922 by the upstate Children's Court Act and, two years later, by a special act for New York City. In 1936 the regulation of boarding homes was transferred to the State Department of Social Welfare from the State Department of Health and was extended to cover not only boarding homes under the supervision of authorized agencies but also those in which children were placed directly by parents or guardians.

Finally, the year 1941 saw the consolidation of the previous State Charities Law and Public Welfare Law into what is now the Social Welfare Law. Article 6 of this body of law, entitled "Children," contains the statutes governing authority and procedures in boarding-out or placing-out children, inspection and supervision of all incorporated agencies which place children, guardianship of destitute and dependent children, protection of religious faith, and, in relation to public welfare officials, sets forth the powers and duties of local officials with respect to child welfare on a broad and comprehensive scale.² These include the care of destitute, neglected, abandoned, delinquent, defective and physically handicapped children, children born out

of wedlock, and children discharged from state institutions, both as to supervision in the child's own home or with relatives, and as to foster-care of various types.

THE COMMITTEE'S STUDY OF FOSTER-CARE

Method of study.—The committee's study of the foster-care field in New York State has consumed nearly fourteen months, has taken the survey staff into twelve upstate counties as well as New York City, and has involved detailed surveys of the administration functions, problems, and procedures of eighteen county and city departments of welfare and veteran assistance agencies, fourteen private child-placing agencies, forty-nine child-caring institutions (including maternity hospitals and shelters and institutions for physically and mentally handicapped children), twelve county children's courts, six detention care programs, and one state institution caring for Indian children. In addition, twelve surrogate judges and thirteen county judges were interviewed with respect to adoption of children, and contacts were made with five councils of social agencies concerning foster-care needs in as many communities as seen by these councils.

The vast amount of firsthand data obtained through these field studies was supplemented by an additional body of information that was secured when a description of the study was sent to some three thousand commissioners of welfare, surrogate judges, county judges, children's court judges, private child-placing agencies, institutions, councils of social agencies, and interested individuals, at the time the survey first began. All these were asked to submit to the committee their comments and suggestions as to what problems they felt existed in the field of foster-care and as to how they felt the state's laws and administrative pro-

² Social Welfare Law, secs. 395-403.

cedures in the field of child welfare needed to be strengthened, what new or additional facilities were needed, etc.

A further mass of illuminating information was secured from some ten councils of social agencies throughout the state, who were asked to participate by making studies of their local foster-care programs and presenting their conclusions and recommendations to the committee.

Thus the committee has had the benefit not only of much careful research done in the field but also of much valuable opinion on the part of all those persons and agencies who are intimately familiar with the problems and for whom some aspect or aspects of foster-care are an everyday concern.

Problems the study has revealed.—Space does not permit further detail as to the method of the study or of the many factors that were covered in the individual county studies. The findings, which are divided into ten major sections, are classified as follows: (a) adoption of children, with particular reference to the placement aspect of adoption, and covering the activities of authorized agencies, the courts, and irregular adoption practices; (b) care of children in foster-family homes, by both public and private agencies, and covering the procedures and problems that apply to this form of foster-care; (c) the care of children in institutions of all types; (d) the care of children in detention homes and detention shelters either prior or subsequent to adjudication by children's courts; (e) procedures of children's courts in relation to foster-care, including commitment and discharge procedures and the use of probation service; (f) care of unmarried mothers and their children; (g) personnel in all types of foster-care agencies, analyzed according to salary, type of pre-

vious experience, general education, professional training, and case loads; (h) administrative procedures and policies of the State Department of Social Welfare, applying to foster-care of children; (i) financing of foster-care by state and local units of government, private agencies and institutions, and problems involved in meeting the cost of foster-care, and (j) special foster-care problems not classifiable under the other headings. Of these findings, c, d, and h have not been completely analyzed as yet, and thus the following summary deals only with the remaining items.

Adoptions.—New York State's present adoptions laws³ provide that only an authorized agency or the natural parent or guardian may place a child for adoption. It is, however, possible, as the law is presently interpreted, for a person acting as the agent of the natural parent to arrange an adoptive placement, and this circumstance has helped to give rise to what is popularly known as the "black market in babies." When these situations reach the courts, at the time a petition to adopt the child is presented, investigations often reveal that children were surrendered hastily and perhaps unwisely, that the child is mentally or physically defective, or that the prospective adoptive parents themselves are not suitable for adoption purposes. By that time, the child has frequently made an attachment to the prospective adoptive home. The judge, however, is in the difficult position of granting an adoption reluctantly in such cases or, unless he is able to make a finding of gross neglect, of allowing the child to remain in the home without being adopted and thus with no provision for his guardianship. Some of these vol-

³ Domestic Relations Laws, Art. VII; Social Welfare Law, sec. 374.

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untary adoption situations apparently never reach the courts at all.

Authorized child-placing agencies cannot begin to meet the public demand for adoptable children and are found to be making only 32 per cent of all adoption placements per year. The remainder are being made through the voluntary, unofficial sources just mentioned.

Further problems in connection with adoption were found to involve the lack of any state-wide registration of adoptions granted per year, the lack of complete issuance of new certificates of birth to adopted children, a marked degree of variation in the investigation of adoption petitions (both as to content and as to qualifications of personnel), and a marked lack of uniformity in court procedure, occasioned by the fact that no fewer than three courts preside over adoptions throughout the state.⁴ Further, it was observed that authorized agencies in their adoption work had tended to be altogether too conservative in their judgment as to what constitutes an adoptive child or a suitable adoptive home and that, generally speaking, they had considered adoption as a last resort (and sometimes as an afterthought), rather than as a primary solution for children deprived of their natural families or for whom rehabilitation of their own family was unlikely or entirely out of the question. Finally, it was found out that some unincorporated maternity hospitals, though strictly forbidden to do so by the Social Welfare Law,⁵ were functioning as "adoption mills" and that, since these institutions are not licensed

by the State Department of Social Welfare, this practice was not necessarily preventing their being licensed by the State Department of Health.

Foster-home care.—Of the 23,282 children in foster-home care of all types as of August 31, 1946, in the entire state, 19,187 were in boarding homes, 2,613 in free or adoptive homes, and the balance in other types of foster-home care. That foster-home care is now the prevalent form of foster-care is indicated by the fact that, as of the foregoing date, children in foster-home care of all kinds represented 54.6 per cent of the total children in foster-care, which was 42,569 as of August 31, 1946. Under the terms of the Social Welfare Law, only boarding homes are subject to licensure or certification. Licensure applies if the boarding home is unaffiliated with a child-placing agency and accepts children directly. In this case the home is licensed and supervised by the State Department of Social Welfare directly. Boarding homes which are affiliated with local child-placing agencies are certified by those agencies, under the same rules and regulations of the State Board of Social Welfare that apply to licensed homes. No licensure or certification of any sort applies to adoptive homes, free homes, work homes, or wage homes, which the survey report regards as a serious gap in the foster-home program of the state.

Further problems were found to exist in the fact that, though the State Department of Social Welfare was supervising only 374 licensed boarding homes as of August, 1946, this represented an expensive and time-consuming use of professional time which might better be devoted to other purposes; lack of a sufficiently forceful penalty to be certified or licensed as a boarding home; inadequate and too infrequent super-

⁴ County, Surrogates' and Children's Courts. The Children's Courts, under an opinion of the Attorney-General of November, 1944, do not possess jurisdiction in adoption and guardianship proceedings concerning children generally, but only in cases of delinquent, dependent, or neglected minors.

⁵ Social Welfare Law, sec. 374.4.

vision of foster-homes by local agencies, and a general lack of selectivity in the use of foster-homes by local agencies. This last problem is, of course, related to what is really the major problem of all, namely, a serious and chronic shortage of six types of foster-homes throughout the entire state: for upstate Catholic children of all ages, for infants and young children, for children with behavior personality problems, for adolescents, for children with special physical and mental problems, and for children requiring temporary care.

Children's court procedures in relation to foster-care.—Intimately related to the whole foster-care system of New York State are the county children's courts, which date back to 1923 and through which children in large numbers are either committed to public and private agencies for placement in foster-care (with the actual determination of foster-care plans left to those agencies) or directly to agencies and institutions for foster-care, on the basis that the court itself determines the type of care needed and commits (by which is meant that it retains jurisdiction until its further order) or discharges (terminates its responsibility) accordingly. Some conception of the volume of commitments and discharges to foster-care by courts in the counties under study is shown by the fact that of a total during 1947 of nearly 8,000 dispositions 1,354 represented foster-care commitments of various kinds.

While much could and should be said about the history, organization, and characteristics of children's courts in New York State, space permits only a cursory explanation of the problems involved. Generally, the Children's Court Act of 1922 and the Domestic Relations Court Act for New York City of 1924 give children's courts broad authority

with respect to the dispositions they may make of children brought before them as delinquent, neglected, abandoned, defective, destitute, physically handicapped, born out of wedlock, or minors who wish to marry. Children's courts may provide for the necessary care, supervision, and treatment of these children and, where foster-care is indicated, may commit or discharge children as described above. Although sixteen years of age is the upper age limit as far as jurisdiction is concerned, children's courts may retain jurisdiction (and in most cases prefer to do so) until the child reaches twenty-one years of age, if his interests so indicate.

Foremost among the problems highlighted in this area is the fact that the powers and duties of children's courts in relation to children almost exactly parallel those of commissioners of welfare in relation to children.⁶ These two public agencies are both authorized agencies under the law,⁷ and the only basic difference is that the former is a judicial agency with accompanying powers and responsibilities, whereas the latter is an administrative agency with certain legal obligations toward children. Both may accept delinquent, neglected, physically handicapped, and mentally defective children for care under their immediate supervision or may delegate this responsibility to an authorized child-caring agency or institution. Both have responsibility for collecting moneys from parents and responsible relatives where the child is a public charge. Both may accept surrenders of children and place for adoption. Both have responsibilities for the care of physically and mentally defective children. Both may order physical

⁶ See Social Welfare Law, secs. 396-400; Children's Court Act, Art. I.

⁷ Social Welfare Law, sec. 371-10(b).

and mental examinations of children referred to them. Finally, both have responsibility for investigating, planning for, and providing care for generally the same groups of children, and for continued supervision of children coming under their care until they reach twenty-one or are discharged.

This duplication in responsibility is further complicated by the fact that children's courts are carrying several purely administrative responsibilities that seem out of place in a judicial agency. These include court decisions as to what form of foster-care a child seems to require, direct commitment to this care, and sometimes continued supervision while he is in foster-care and following his discharge from it; collection and disbursement of funds toward the support of children committed to foster-care; administration of a special form of public aid known as Aid to Physically Handicapped Children; provision of detention care for delinquents and others requiring so-called "security" care, and, finally, the administration of probation services that closely parallel the program of child welfare services administered by county and city departments of public welfare.

While there are a host of other problems in connection with the administration of children's courts in New York State, the foregoing at least serves to illustrate the fact that there is a serious need to define what should now be the place of the court in the state's child welfare program, in view of the great progress made in the public welfare field, with respect to children's services, since the children's courts first made their appearance in 1923. At that time, there was of course little development as far as other public child welfare services were concerned.

It is only fair to state that the poten-

tial conflict as between children's courts and departments of welfare in most counties, with respect to their parallel responsibilities, is minimized by close cooperation between the two. As an illustration of what *can* happen, however, it is worth pointing out that a children's court can commit a child directly to an institution and make his care chargeable to the local department of welfare. There then arises the question as to who is responsible for further planning in connection with this child, for working with his family, and for providing him with supervision following his return—whether the court which committed him or the public welfare agency which is paying for his care. The fact is that, in too many counties, neither agency takes this responsibility, leaving the entire task to the institution which has the immediate care of the child. Such institutions are often far removed from the child's home community and seldom have field staff available.

Unmarried mothers.—Here, problems revealed by the study included the following: a general lack of shelter care, skilled case-work, and psychiatric services; delayed referral or delayed application of these cases, resulting in a slow-up of planning at a time when the unmarried mother is most likely to want an immediate solution to her problem; inconsistencies in public assistance policies as between counties around the factor of residence (some giving service but no financial assistance, some referring the unmarried mother to her own county of residence for both service and assistance, some providing delivery care but referring to the county of residence for planning in connection with the baby, and others assuming the whole responsibility regardless of the residence factor); uncertainty over taking of surrenders of out-

of wedlock children because of a lack of legal clarity as to what surrender implies as far as agency financial responsibility is concerned; and, finally, much variation in public welfare policy as to whether financial assistance and service to an unmarried mother is a public assistance or a child welfare responsibility.

Personnel in foster-care.—As indicated previously, the study analyzed the education, professional training, experience, salaries, and case loads of all case-work personnel in administrative, supervisory, staff capacities. Of 234 workers for whom full data were reported, 120 were child welfare workers in county and city departments of welfare, 43 were probation workers in county children's courts, and 71 were case workers in private child-placing agencies.

With regard to professional training it was found that of the 120 public child welfare workers, only 14 were graduates of a school of social work. Of the balance, 44 had had some formal training or had had courses or institutes, and 62 had had no training at all. Of the 43 probation personnel, only 4 were found to have graduated from a school of social work, 3 had had limited formal training, and 8 had had courses or institutes of various kinds. The balance, 28, had had no training. Among the 71 private-agency workers, a somewhat more encouraging picture prevailed, 42 having graduated from a school of social work and only 13 having had no training of any sort. The chief significance of these findings is that over half the public child welfare workers (who are the only child welfare personnel in most of the smaller counties) have had no formal training. The low percentage of probation personnel with any formal training also emerges as a serious problem.

As to general education, college gradu-

ation was the prevailing characteristic of all three types of workers. Of the 120 public child welfare workers, 82 were college graduates; of the 43 probation officers, 26 were graduates, and of the 71 private-agency workers, 62 were graduates. Roughly, 73 per cent of all workers were graduates.

As to experience, 39 of the 120 public child welfare workers had had previous child welfare experience and 42 other social work experience. Of the 43 probation officers, 16 had had previous child welfare experience and 10 other social work experience; and of the 71 private-agency workers, 37 had had previous child welfare experience and 13 had had other social work experience.

Salaries, for the great majority of workers, presented a picture as discouraging as was true with professional training. Salaries were tabulated beginning with a minimum of \$1,800 or less, and so on upward to a maximum of \$4,000 or over. For the 120 public child welfare workers, the median annual salary was found to be \$2,195; for the probation officers, \$2,557; for the private-agency workers, \$2,489; and for all workers, \$2,356. Significant in these findings (in addition to the over-all fact that all salaries are so low), is the fact that the probation officers, with the least amount of professional training and general education, were in general receiving the highest salaries.

Data concerning case loads were extremely hard to tabulate because of lack of uniformity in reporting. Out of 164 reported case loads, however, well over half ranged between 50 and 125, with the greatest concentration of high loads among the public child welfare workers, where the median load per worker was 83.

A further group of foster-care person-

nel, namely, workers in institutions for dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, in detention facilities and institutions providing care for unmarried mothers and their babies, was classified separately from the foregoing. This group consisted of 649 workers, on an administrative and direct-care level. Of 550 workers for whom educational data were submitted, 268 had had college or vocational courses beyond the high-school level, 85 were high-school graduates only, and 79 had had less than a high-school education. Only 26 workers out of the entire group of 550 for whom data were reported were found to have had professional training in the field of social work, and only 13 of these were graduates of schools of social work. Fully half the 550 workers reported no previous experience that was in any way related to their present occupations.

These workers were found in a total of 49 institutions caring for 4,595 children. Their lack of preparation, by way of general education, previous experience with children, and professional training indicates a serious gap in the state's foster-care program, and particularly a lack of facilities with which to train personnel specifically for group care of children. This, coupled with a marked lack of casework service in the institutions surveyed, simply means that the general tendency is toward a custodial type of institutional care program rather than toward a treatment type of care that modern child welfare standards demand.

Financing foster-care.—One of the most complicated areas of the entire survey dealt with the financing of foster-care, by state and local units of government, by private placement agencies, and by institutions of various types. One is immediately struck with the fact that foster-care in New York State operates

largely as a responsibility of public funds. Of the 42,569 children in foster-care as of August 31, 1946, fully 83 per cent were public charges; that is, they were cared for at the expense of local public welfare districts or, if they were without state residence, at state expense as so-called "state charges." The latter group comprised 1,762 children in the state as a whole on December 31, 1946, including Indian children, out of an estimated total of 35,000 public charges in foster-care as of that date.

A further striking fact is that though there has been a marked decrease in the numbers of children in foster-care during the past several years,⁸ the expenditures for foster-care of public charges either have increased in the aggregate or have remained fairly static. Whereas the upstate counties surveyed spent \$1,998,861.45 for foster care in 1941, their total bill in 1945 was \$2,249,295.91, despite a net decline of 436 in children under care. In New York City, where the decrease was 4,638 during this same period of time, there was no appreciable decline in expenditures, the total in 1941 having been \$8,202,555.48 and in 1945, \$7,634,521.80. The definite upward trend in foster-care costs is, of course, explained by increasingly higher rates of board for foster-parents, higher rates for institutional care because of advancing costs, and the increasing costs of extras such as clothing, health care, and the like. Along with this trend, however, it was found that reimbursement from parents and responsible relatives is definitely downward, the trend beginning in 1945, coincidentally with the end of the wartime high-wage period. Thus it appears that

⁸ Public charges in foster-care decreased from 20,496 in New York City in 1941 to 15,858 in 1945. In the upstate counties studied the decrease was from 6,815 to 6,379 during the same period.

the bill for foster-care will become increasingly higher.

This raises still another point, which is that foster-care of children who are public charges in New York State is entirely a local financial responsibility, except for those children classified as state charges (as just mentioned), dependent Indian children, and children under care in state training schools for the delinquent. There is no state reimbursement with this program as there is with public assistance, including home relief (or general assistance, as it is called in some parts of the country) and local administrative costs. This means that the localities are bearing the great burden of rising costs of foster-care and that tax rates in many of the counties have had to be raised frequently because of this very factor. An added complication involved in any approach to state reimbursement for foster-care lies in the fact that, with so many commitments to foster-care being made by children's courts, supervision by an executive department of the state government of resultant expenditures would be virtually impossible since such a department cannot review the actions of a court.

The rate structure of foster-care, as administered by local public welfare units, presents another problematic picture. The greatest imaginable variation was found among counties as to per capita rates paid for foster-home care, for extras for children in foster-home care, for children in the care of private agencies, and for those in the care of institutions of various types. This rate structure varies according to local living costs, the financial leeway (or the lack thereof) of departments of welfare, the amounts requested by private agencies and institutions, and many other variable factors. Basic rates for boarding-

home care varied, for example, from \$6.00 per week in one upstate county to \$14.65 in New York City, with extra items such as clothing, shoes, school-books, health care, and the like provided in addition in some counties and to a lesser extent in others. The same variation applies to rates for institutional care, which vary not only according to locality but as to type of care provided.

An examination of the finances of thirty-three child-caring institutions shows that nineteen received more than 50 per cent of their income during 1946 from the care of public charges, the range being all the way from zero in one instance to 96 per cent in another. Only three institutions out of the entire group were receiving rates (for either public or private charges) that were equal to their actual per capita costs of care.

Among the private child-placing agencies a noticeable lack of sufficient operating funds was the prevailing picture. This was found to result, on the one hand, in undue pressure on parents and relatives to meet the entire cost of foster-care of the child or, on the other hand, in somewhat opportunistic financial arrangements with local departments of welfare, where the child for whom support was not forthcoming from his own family was made a public charge and remained under the private agency's care. A lack of independent funds for boarding care, clothing, health care, and special services was, with one or two exceptions, a difficult problem for this entire group of agencies.

Special problems.—Among the special problems which were encountered in the study only three will be mentioned here. The first involves what is apparently a result of the abolition of settlement, which occurred in 1946. Since public welfare responsibility is now based upon the

residence factor in New York State, and, since the individual in need is assisted by the public welfare district where he resides or is found, a question immediately confronts one about the child in foster-care who resides in one public welfare district and his family in another. There is evidence that in such cases responsibility becomes divided as between two or more public welfare districts as far as rehabilitation of the families of placed children is concerned. This problem will require further analysis before any remedies can be proposed.

A second problem relates to veteran-assistance agencies, which in terms of the Social Welfare Law may be established in counties and cities to administer veteran assistance to honorably discharged veterans and their families, separately and apart from the regular departments of public welfare. Such agencies can and do function as child-placing agencies, with the result that in some counties of the state there are two (and in one instance three) separate public child welfare programs operating side by side, with all the complications and duplications that one might logically expect to occur under such conditions.

A third problem area which has a direct bearing on foster-care and general child welfare practice was found to be an acute lack of mental hygiene and child guidance facilities for children, particularly outside the larger urban centers. The state is served, it is true, by ambulatory child guidance clinics operated by the State Department of Mental Hygiene; however, these are limited primarily to diagnosis and can afford little in the way of continued or consistent treatment and supervision.

The Committee's 1948 legislative program.—Out of a host of problems presented to it for consideration, the com-

mittee selected those surrounding adoptive and foster-home placement as being the point of departure as far as its legislative program this year is concerned. While the committee saw that adoption was an area in which there was a particular demand for reform, it wisely saw also that any safeguards around the placement of a child for adoption must also apply to other types of foster-home placement, in free homes, in work or wage homes, or in the homes of unrelated guardians. It was aware that the problem was particularly pressing as regards those children not placed through the medium of authorized agencies; it was aware that whereas many people take unrelated children into their homes intending to adopt them later, actually this point may never be reached. It was aware, too, that children are often casually left, placed, or abandoned in the homes of unrelated persons. To provide the necessary protection over the placement of children, therefore, in addition to what present law already furnishes, the following proposals were prepared and submitted to the legislature at its current session:

Amendment 1 clarifies the term "place out" in the Social Welfare Law, which now refers to any type of placement in a foster-home except for boarding care (the latter is referred to as "board out"). This amendment distinguishes between placement for adoption and other types of nonboarding foster-home care, such as free home, work, or wage care.

Amendment 2, which was the most significant in this year's legislative program, requires any person who accepts an unrelated child under seven years of age into his home for permanent care, whether for adoption or otherwise, and other than through an authorized child-

placing agency, to register with the commissioner of welfare, in the public welfare district where he resides, within thirty days' time. Where the adoption of such children is involved, the commissioner of public welfare is given the right to appear as a party to the adoption proceedings.

As originally proposed, this bill would have empowered the commissioner of welfare to make an investigation of all the circumstances of the placement (and in his discretion to have delegated this responsibility as an authorized private agency); he would have been further authorized either to approve the placement in terms of rules to be formulated by the State Board of Social Welfare or, in the event that the placement was not substantially in compliance with such rules, to petition the local children's court for removal of the child on grounds of improper guardianship. Unfortunately, these features of the bill were eliminated at the last moment, and, although the present bill has the effect of bringing to the attention of an official agency at an early point in their placement all unrelated children under seven who are placed away from their own families and although it will help greatly to define the nature of a problem that is not now known, it provides no protection as far as investigation or removal from unsatisfactory foster-homes is concerned. It is to be hoped that these features can be incorporated into the law during ensuing sessions of the legislature.

Amendment 3, in order to overcome the 1925 opinion of the Attorney-General⁹ to the effect that agents or intermediaries of the natural parents, guardians, or relatives within the second degree are not restricted by the law governing placing-out or boarding-out of children, pro-

hibits specifically such agents or intermediaries from functioning in any manner, either directly or indirectly, and makes it clear that foster-home placement of any sort may be made only by an authorized child-placing agency or by a parent, guardian, or relative within the second degree. This amendment is designed to prohibit the making or arranging of adoption placement, especially by go-betweens such as physicians, attorneys, maternity-home operators, nurses, and others.

Amendment 4 prohibits the requesting, giving, or receiving of a fee in consideration of the placement of a child in a foster-home, whether for adoption or otherwise. Violations of this provision are to be considered a misdemeanor in the first instance and a felony in the second and subsequent instances. This amendment is designed to overcome the practice of charging excessive fees by individuals who under the present interpretation of the law have functioned as adoption entrepreneurs. Authorized agencies are excluded from the amendment, the thought being that they are free to charge fees to adoptive parents covering necessary expenses attached to adoptive placements of children.

Amendment 5 provides for the automatic issuance, by the State Department of Health, of new birth certificates to all adopted children.

Amendment 6, dealing with incorporated and unincorporated maternity homes and hospitals, requires the State Department of Social Welfare to certify annually to the State Department of Health whether all such institutions are complying with the provisions of the Social Welfare Law which forbid their engaging directly or indirectly in the placing-out or boarding-out of children. In any case, where such an institution is

⁹ Opinion, Attorney-General, 1925, 35 State Department, 238.

found to be violating this provision, certification by the Department of Social Welfare to that effect would result in the denial or withdrawal of its license by the State Department of Health. This amendment would have the effect of making compliance with the Social Welfare Law one of the conditions for licensure of these places, a condition that has not held true until now.

Additional amendments covered minor changes in the present methods of certifying and licensing foster-homes, and a further amendment unrelated to foster-home care dealt with reciprocal testimony and relations with other states in nonsupport cases in which the respondent has taken up residence in another state and his dependents require support here.

Only two of these proposed amendments (those concerning maternity homes and hospitals and reciprocal testimony in nonsupport cases) were passed by the current legislature. However, the others are expected to be reintroduced, possibly with some improvements, in 1949.

Many persons urged upon the committee the desirability of denying parents the right to place directly and felt that only authorized child-placing agencies should have this privilege. However, there is evidence that such a restriction would be unconstitutional, and hence the committee could agree only to exclude the agents and intermediaries who have been functioning as adoption brokers. Further compromises had to be made with regard to Amendment 2 so that it would not include children over seven years of age, those placed with related persons, or those placed for temporary care only. It is hoped that the law can

eventually be expanded to include these children as experience gives us the necessary basis for doing so.

In addition to reviewing a vast number of other foster-care problems and mapping out its legislative program for 1949 and ensuing years, the committee has much further field work to do. A large group of child-placing agencies and child-caring institutions in New York City has yet to be studied, the three state training schools for delinquent children must be surveyed, and much further thought must be given to such matters as the costs relationship between Aid to Dependent Children and foster-care, whether or not there should be separate or combined intake in child welfare and public assistance in local public agencies, how field services and administrative policies of the State Department of Social Welfare, in relation to local agencies, might be strengthened and improved, and the like.

The committee regarded this year's amendments as only a small beginning toward a better plan of foster-care and child welfare services generally, in New York State. It is entirely mindful, too, that there is not a legislative solution for many problems in this field.

The committee has a good relationship with child welfare agencies and child welfare workers all over the state and has encouraged everyone in the field to feel free to work with it and to communicate with it at any time. With this type of co-operative approach to new legislation, it should be possible for the committee, over a period of years, to make a lasting and outstanding contribution to the child welfare annals of the state and the nation.

SYRACUSE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

THE NEW ENGLISH NATIONAL ASSISTANCE SCHEME

JOHN MOSS, C.B.E.

UNDER the National Assistance Bill, which had not gone through all its stages in the British Parliament when we went to press, there is substituted for existing services—administered by both local authorities and the Assistance Board—a comprehensive scheme with assistance and welfare services which will complete the main pattern of the new social legislation, of which the Family Allowances Act, the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act, the National Insurance Act, and the National Health Service Act are the principal features. The institution of this new scheme, which will come into operation in July, 1948, entails an extensive repeal of existing legislation and, in particular, the repeal of the poor law. It is, indeed, a fundamental object of the bill to achieve the final breakup of the poor law and to create entirely new services founded on modern conceptions of social welfare.

The bill makes provision for comprehensive services falling into two main groups:

- A. National assistance, taking the form mainly of financial aid to those in need (whose needs are not otherwise met by National Insurance or from any other source). This is to be a function of central government and a national, not a local, charge—and all local government responsibility for the relief of destitution will give place to it.
- B. Residential accommodation for the aged, the infirm, and others who require care and attention to be provided in this way, with special welfare services for certain handicapped persons. This is to be a local government function intrusted to the councils of counties, county boroughs, and a local rate charge with

some Exchequer assistance. It will not be concerned with the relief of destitution as in the past, and the local poor law institution—as now known—will disappear. It is probable, however, that for some time to come and until new buildings can be provided many existing institutions will have to be used for similar purposes as at present.

With regard to national assistance, the bill provides a unified state service of financial assistance according to need in place of various existing services provided by either the state or the local authorities. The services which will be replaced are:

1. Unemployment assistance, now paid by the Assistance Board to insurable unemployed persons not qualified for unemployment benefit, and to persons receiving such benefit who find it insufficient for their needs
2. Supplementary pensions, now paid by the Assistance Board to old age pensioners and also to widow pensioners if they are over sixty years old or if their pensions include an additional allowance in respect of a child
3. Blind domiciliary assistance, now paid by local authorities to registered blind persons
4. Tuberculosis treatment allowances, now paid by local authorities (at the cost of the Exchequer) to certain persons suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis who give up employment in order to undergo treatment
5. Outdoor relief under the poor law, now paid by local authorities to persons in need who cannot be assisted under any of the foregoing services.

THE NATIONAL ASSISTANCE BOARD

The new national service is to be administered by a National Assistance Board, which will be required to exercise its functions in such manner as will best promote the welfare of the persons affected. The board will therefore replace

the present Assistance Board and be responsible for many forms of assistance now provided by that board, such as with regard to unemployed persons and old age pensioners in addition to the new duties imposed by the bill.

Any person aged sixteen years or over who is in need will be able to apply for assistance, including a person who needs assistance in supplementation of a pension or insurance benefit. Where need is established, the assistance will provide for any dependents as well as for the applicant. It is expected that applicants for assistance will, in the main, be persons who are aged, disabled, or sick and who are living in their own homes. Assistance grants will, however, also be made to persons living in residential accommodation provided by local authorities under the bill, if their resources are insufficient to enable them to meet the minimum charge which the authorities are to make. Decisions on individual cases will be given in the first instance by the board's local officers, whose powers will include authority to grant immediate assistance in an urgent case. Assistance may be in money or in kind, as the circumstances require. Applicants dissatisfied with a decision by the officer will have a right of appeal to an independent local appeal tribunal.

In deciding whether a person is in need and the extent of any assistance to be granted, the board's officers are to give effect to regulations made by the Minister of National Insurance. It is intended that these regulations should, like the present regulations for unemployment assistance and supplementary pensions, lay down scales of assistance for general application while leaving room for the exercise of discretion in each individual case. The regulations will include general rules for dealing with resources. The

needs of a husband and wife living together will be considered jointly, and their joint resources will be considered available to meet the needs of both. The resources of other adult members of an applicant's household will not be taken into account against the needs of the applicant, though, where the applicant is the householder, it will be assumed that they are making appropriate contributions toward the rent and overhead expenses of the household. The bill contains directions about the treatment of the resources of applicants for assistance and their wives or husbands. Certain forms of income are to be disregarded in whole or in part. Provisions for disregarding income are to be found in all the varied forms of assistance which will be replaced by the unified scheme, but they have developed piecemeal and differ in certain respects between one scheme and another. The "disregard" rules have now been reconsidered in the light of the provisions of the National Insurance Act for sick, disabled, and other persons, and the proposals in the bill bring them into harmony with those provisions and with one another.

Responsibility for the casual poor person or vagrant now rests on local authorities under the poor law. Under this arrangement public assistance authorities have had to maintain casual wards all over the country. Before the second World War there was a chain of these casual wards on all important routes, where a night's lodging was provided for a wayfarer without means in return for which he usually had to do a certain amount of work and was generally required to remain in the ward for two nights. At the outbreak of the war most of these casual wards were closed, and the problem now is nothing like so great as it was before the war. It was thought

that after the war there might be a recurrence of the old vagrancy problem, but this has not proved to be the case. The subject of vagrancy is most interesting but is beyond the general scope of this article. The bill will transfer this responsibility to the board by requiring it to make provision whereby persons without a settled way of living may be influenced to lead a more settled life and to provide for their temporary accommodation at reception centers. The steps that can be taken to influence a person to settle down will naturally vary: for example, old and infirm persons may be induced to settle in a suitable home; younger persons capable of work will be put in touch with opportunities of employment through the local office of the Ministry of Labour and National Service; and, if such younger persons are unfit for work through the lack of regular occupation, instruction, or training, this may be provided for them at one of the re-establishment centers already mentioned.

RESIDENTIAL AND OTHER ACCOMMODATION AND WELFARE SERVICES TO BE PROVIDED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The bill places responsibility for these services in the hands of the major local authorities—i.e., the councils of counties and county boroughs in England and Wales and of counties and large burghs in Scotland—and provides for the formation of joint boards where this is desirable. There will be a duty placed on the local authorities to provide residential accommodation for persons who, by reason of age, infirmity, or other circumstances, are in need of care and attention not otherwise available to them. These will not include sick persons who need treatment in a hospital and are therefore the responsibility of the National Health

Service Act,¹ but will comprise many types of elderly, infirm, disabled, or sub-normal people who are unable to lead a normal home life. The service will include all necessary care, maintenance, and amenities.

Residential accommodation of this kind will be provided, according to the government, in homes or hostels designed to meet the varying needs of the persons concerned. Incidentally, I might interpose my personal view that it will be many years before this ideal is completely achieved. The service will be available to those in need of it, irrespective of their means. The local authority will not thus need to be merely a reliever of destitution but will become the provider of comfortable accommodation, with care and attention for those who, owing to age or infirmity, cannot wholly look after themselves. Here again, this is an ideal which, I am afraid, cannot be reached for some years. Until the present restrictions on building are removed and there is a greater supply of both building materials and labor, it seems impossible that local authorities will be able to spend considerable sums of money on building new accommodations—as required in the bill—when the general housing problem is so acute. Clearly, however, local authorities will desire at the earliest possible opportunity to provide the type of accommodation envisaged in the bill, and there is already a considerable movement for the extension and provision of old people's homes. I am afraid, however, that many public assistance institutions may have to be used for the same purpose for some time to come, but they require modernization. In some cases this will not be just

¹ As was explained in the article on "The New British National Health Service," by the present writer, in this *Review*, XX (September, 1946), 385-90.

tified on financial grounds, the fact that their life has a limited duration being borne in mind.

The local authority will fix the standard charge for the accommodation provided, and the resident, if his resources permit, will pay the charge in full. If he is unable to do so, the charge will be reduced to an amount which he can afford to pay and which at the same time will enable him to retain for himself a reasonable sum of pocket money. The majority of persons admitted to residential accommodation (an increasing majority as times goes on) will have at least the retirement pension or other insurance benefit of twenty-six shillings a week. Assuming that they retain five shillings a week for pocket money, such persons will be in a position to pay at least twenty-one shillings a week for their accommodation and maintenance. Where a person's resources do not amount to twenty-six shillings a week, it will be for the National Assistance Board to pay him an allowance which will bring his resources up to that amount and thus enable him to pay the local authority the minimum charge. Applications for admission to residential or temporary accommodation will ordinarily be made to the local authority, and, although a very wide service is to be provided, there is no doubt that—at the inception of the new scheme, at any rate—priority will have to be given to those who are in most urgent need.

WELFARE SERVICES FOR HANDICAPPED PERSONS

It is at present the duty of local authorities, under the Blind Persons acts of 1920 and 1938, to make arrangements for promoting the welfare of blind persons. Under the bill, local authorities are empowered, to such extent as the minis-

ter may direct, to make such arrangements, not only with regard to the blind but also as respects the deaf or dumb and other persons who are substantially and permanently handicapped by illness, injury, or congenital deformity or by such other disabilities as the minister may prescribe. Apart from financial assistance, which, as already explained, will in all cases be a matter for the National Assistance Board, the arrangements may take the same form as those already made for blind persons and will include instruction to handicapped persons in their own homes or elsewhere as how best to overcome the effects of these disabilities; the provision of workshops and of hostels for the workers; schemes for home workers; and the provision of recreational facilities.

ADMINISTRATION

Public assistance committees of local authorities will disappear, and the bill provides for the functions under the bill being referred to a new committee appointed for the purpose, or alternatively, to a suitable existing committee approved by the minister. The repeal of the poor law will remove from the statute-book the intricate provisions of the present law relating to settlement and removal, which are, I believe, still in operation to a certain extent in some parts of the United States. Under the bill the question of which local authority is responsible in a particular case for the provision of accommodation or welfare services will be determined, in general, by the relatively simple test of the person's ordinary residence. That is to say, the duty of providing residential accommodation or welfare services will rest on the local authority in whose area the person is ordinarily resident. In the case of residential accommodation, however, an au-

thority will be under a duty to deal with any case of urgency, no matter where the person concerned may be ordinarily resident.

In Great Britain much pioneer work has been done by voluntary organizations, some of which are still doing most important and useful work in this field. The bill makes provision enabling local authorities, if they wish, to utilize the services of voluntary organizations in the provision of accommodation and welfare services for which they are responsible. A local authority may make arrangements with any voluntary organization, including a housing association under the housing acts, for the provision of accommodation under the bill in premises managed by the organization and may pay the organization for such accommodation at agreed rates. The local authority may also use as their agent for the purpose of providing welfare services for handicapped persons any appropriate voluntary organization. Local authorities may make contributions to the funds of any voluntary organization which provides residential accommodation or promotes the welfare of the blind or other handicapped classes, and they are also empowered to make subscriptions to the funds of any voluntary organization having as one of its objects the provision of recreation or meals for old people (i.e., old people's clubs).

With a view to bringing under supervision any establishment the sole or main object of which is the provision of accommodation for old people or blind or other handicapped persons, the bill provides that it shall be an offense punishable by fine or, where the offense is repeated, by fine or imprisonment, or both, to carry on such an establishment, whether for

profit or not, without registering with the local authority. The bill gives a right of inspection of such establishments to officers of the health departments and of the local authority, and authorizes the minister to make regulations as to the conduct of the establishments.

Another important alteration in the bill is with regard to the liability of relatives, which under the poor law now extends to a wide field. In future, for the purposes of the bill, a man will be liable to maintain only his wife and his children under sixteen, and a woman her husband and her children under sixteen, whether the children in either case are legitimate, illegitimate, or adopted.

In conclusion, perhaps I may refer to another article² in which I expressed the view that "the Bill provides for a service which is in advance of the present restricted service, as administered by Public Assistance Authorities and from many points of view will bring the whole system more into accord with modern ideas. The Poor Law has provided a very beneficial service for many years. It is now generally administered on humane lines. It is, however, necessarily restricted by the statutory provisions. Many public assistance authorities have gone beyond the powers of the strict statutory provisions in carrying out their duties and they have outlived their present scope, and the passing of the Bill will put a paving stone on the new system of National Insurance, and State Hospital provision on the lines recommended by Sir William Beveridge in his Report."

COUNTY HALL OF KENT COUNTY, MAIDSTONE
KENT, ENGLAND

² See "The End of the Poor Law," *Fortnightly*, December, 1947, pp. 423-28.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CATEGORIES: YES OR NO?

ALTON A. LINFORD

THE question "Should the public assistance program be organized and administered on a categorical basis?" has been a subject of warm discussion for over one hundred years. During the first two centuries of this country's history we had a completely integrated public aid program in the old poor law. The several states provided but one public service for all needy persons regardless of the cause of their need, whether it resulted from physical or mental illness, old age, orphanhood, or unemployment. It is a matter of record that in the last one hundred and fifty years this integrated public aid program has been undergoing a steady process of disintegration. Time and again the hand of the state has been thrust into the reservoir to lift out one group after another for whom care was arranged outside the poor law. First it was the insane, then the feeble-minded, the veteran, dependent children who had to be cared for outside their own homes, followed in succession by the families made dependent by injury or death of breadwinners while at work in industry, dependent children in their own homes, the aged, and, for a time, the needy unemployed. Some of these groups have been provided for outside the poor law through special programs of public assistance, but most of them have been cared for through the use of social insurance, special public institutions, and other nonrelief methods.

In the process of the breakup of the poor law—our previously integrated pub-

lic assistance program—three kinds of categorical services have been established: (1) groups of dependent persons whose primary needs were not financial subsistence but specialized and technical services (the insane, the feeble-minded, the tuberculous, the physically and vocationally handicapped, orphaned children, and children with special problems); (2) groups whose primary problems were financial in character but for whom it was decided that their needs should be cared for by methods other than the device of public assistance (i.e., the unemployed through unemployment insurance and public works programs and the retired workers and their dependents and the survivors of deceased workers through Old Age and Survivors Insurance); and (3) groups lifted out of the poor law but provided for by special programs of public assistance (O.A.A., A.D.C., A.B., and work relief programs). The first group of categorical programs developed because of the recognition of the specialized needs of the insane, the feeble-minded, and others, and the necessity for developing research and special services to meet those needs. The second group came into being as a result of the conviction that financial insecurity should be met short of the point of destitution, and action followed the development of more constructive methods of accomplishing this purpose, namely, insurance, public works, government loans, etc. The third group, for whom care is still provided through the method of public assistance, has been separated from the poor law because of the wish to offer

* Paper read before the Ohio Welfare Conference, Columbus, Ohio, November 6, 1947.

to certain persons a type of assistance that is superior to that available under the poor law.

VARYING DEGREES OF CATEGORIZATION

When used in connection with public assistance, the term "category" usually refers to a sector of the dependent population whose needs are met through separate appropriations and usually through a separate administrative agency. Note should be taken of the fact, however, that there is a great deal of variation in the amount of separateness in the several categories and among the different states. At one extreme is the category that is administered completely separate and apart from all other forms of public assistance by an agency that was created for the sole purpose of organizing and administering services to this one group. This agency will have its own offices, staff, equipment, and funds. At the other extreme is the arrangement in which a single agency will be responsible for administering aid and services to two or more groups but will discharge its responsibilities on an integrated basis. In this type of agency the workers carry an undifferentiated case load, and each category is also served by the same staff of accountants, disbursing agents, medical officers, and supervisors. There may be separate statutes with differing eligibility requirements for each category, and perhaps a separate appropriation, but otherwise the agency functions in a unified manner. Between these two extremes there is a variety of separateness. A category may be served by a bureau within a larger department in which such bureau has its own staff of social workers, supervisors, accountants, doctors, and others who serve this category exclusively. Still another variation is where an

agency responsible for two or more categories centralizes some services, such as accounting, statistics, disbursing, and perhaps even intake, while maintaining a separate case-work staff for each category. It is possible then to maintain categories of public assistance while carrying them out through a noncategorized or integrated administration.

The question that is the concern of this present inquiry is whether this residual group that must continue to depend upon public assistance should have its needs met through a single integrated assistance service or whether it can be better served by the categorical approach. If the categorical approach is to be used, is it better to administer each category separately or to employ an integrated administration through a single agency?

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

The answer to these questions may more easily be reached if we first take note of certain widely accepted facts and concepts about public assistance itself. The first fact to be noted is that in the present scheme of things public assistance in addition to being a residual program, will in the future occupy a position of diminishing importance in the total system of social security. It seems correct to assume that the group served by public assistance will become smaller and smaller both actually and relatively. The means test is an ugly device and one that is unpopular with those to whom it must be applied. Social insurance and other nonmeans-test programs are obviously more popular and desirable from almost every point of view. Almost all planning groups in this field—the Social Security Administration, the American Public Welfare Association, the National Planning Association, the late National Re-

sources Planning Board, and the American Association of Social Workers, to name only the most important ones—are all agreed that social insurance measures should be broadened to cover the hazards of illness and disability and extended to include the maximum number in the population. When Old Age and Survivors Insurance, as at present constituted, reaches its maximum development, it will largely replace Old Age Assistance and Aid to Dependent Children, the two largest and most important of the present special categories. If the proposals to expand and to extend the social insurances are realized, not only the special categories but general assistance as well will be reduced to a minimum.

A second point on which there is widespread agreement is that need should be the primary, if not the only, condition of eligibility for public assistance; that all arbitrary conditions of eligibility such as citizenship, residence, ownership of home, physical and mental condition, moral character, and even age should be eliminated from all public assistance programs.

Third, it is generally agreed among social workers today that public assistance should be made available to those who need it on such terms, and be administered in such a way, that it can be received without loss of dignity and self-respect. A corollary to this proposition is that there be recognition of a needy person's legal right to assistance and that the statute and administration provide for the implementation of that right.

A fourth point that is receiving increasingly wider acceptance is that the public assistance programs should provide equal treatment to persons in similar circumstances. This means that any needy person, regardless of age, sex, race,

creed, color, residence, or other conditions, should have the same opportunity to apply for aid, to receive the same consideration of his needs, and to have the same measurements applied in determining the amount of assistance that he is to receive.

Finally, there are few persons who would not agree that public assistance services should be administered efficiently, expeditiously, with a maximum of coordination between the several parts and with a minimum of confusion, delay, overlapping, and duplication.

Perhaps there are some who would not agree with all the five points as stated. It is believed, however, that all social workers, and most other persons who have considered the matter, would hold with these principles, at least as long-time objectives in public assistance. Strong support for these points may be found in programs and platforms of the American Public Welfare Association, the Social Security Administration, and the American Association of Social Workers.

QUESTIONS ABOUT CATEGORIES

What does it all add up to? And what relevance does it have to the question of whether public assistance should be administered on a categorical basis? Just this: If the social insurances are expanded and extended so as to maximize coverage and scope of services, the residue left to public assistance is likely to be small indeed, perhaps too small to be subdivided into categories. Moreover, if we accept the thesis stated above with respect to equal treatment, removal of arbitrary conditions of eligibility, and administration in such a way as to preserve the dignity and self-respect of all recipients, the question may be asked as to what basis would remain on which

categories could be established? While it is undoubtedly a fact that, in the past, categories of public assistance have been established in order to provide to certain groups a preferred kind of assistance—that is, more adequate assistance, assistance in the form of cash in the home rather than institutional care, or aid made available on easier terms than that required for other categories—all such distinction between categories would be erased if equal treatment and the other principles were accepted and put into effect. If need became the sole condition of eligibility, if equal treatment (including standards of aid and nature and quality of services) were maintained for all recipients, and if each category were administered in such a way as to maximize the personal dignity and self-respect of its recipients, would there remain any distinction between existing categories that would justify their maintenance as separate categories?

It might be argued that the service needs of the aged, of dependent children, and of the blind are so different and so specialized that separate staffs are required to provide such services and that this fact alone would justify the maintenance of the separate assistance categories. It is undoubtedly true that the blind, children, and the aged each have problems and require services that are more or less peculiar and different from the problems and services of other groups. It might be countered, however, that the needs and problems of every person are different, that the problems and needs of the infant are as different from those of the adolescent as the latter are different from the aged. Moreover, it is a fact that children do not live by themselves but are generally found in homes with one or more adults and that their problems and needs are often in-

extricably intertwined with those of the adults with whom they live. The same statement would perhaps apply also to the aged and other groups that might be segregated for special treatment.

Perhaps it is pertinent to inquire whether the categorized administration of assistance to special groups has led to the development of services and skills that are directly related to the peculiar problems and needs of the children, the aged, and the blind. All three groups have been served on a categorical basis now for twelve years under the Social Security Act, and many states have had experience with A.D.C. or its equivalent for more than thirty years. Surely thirty years, or even twelve, is sufficient time for the production of some results that could be appraised. Is anyone prepared to maintain that because dependent children, the aged, and the blind have been provided for separately as categories, any notable advance has been made in the provision of better housing, better medical care, better recreation, or even better case-work services offered to these groups? No very significant developments in services for these groups can be attributed to the categorized programs!

During these years some categories in some states have been administered quite separately and apart from the other categories, while in other states there has been considerable experience with an integrated administration. Can it be demonstrated, for example, that Ohio's separately administered O.A.A. program has resulted in the provision of more effective and appropriate services to the aged than have the integrated programs of such neighboring states as Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, or Indiana? So far as this writer is aware, no thoroughgoing research on this subject has been carried out, so the question cannot

be answered with finality. A cursory examination of the published facts about the O.A.A. program in these states failed to disclose any evidence that Ohio's program was superior in any way to the O.A.A. services in neighboring states that employ an integrated administration. My own limited observations lead me to doubt that the separately administered assistance categories generally are more efficiently executed or are accompanied by better service programs than those that are administered jointly with other categories.

My limited observations lead me to suspect that the great bulk of the time and skills of the case workers in our categorical assistance programs, whether administered separately or on an integrated basis, are expended in the administration of arbitrary and often abstruse eligibility requirements. Time studies in state after state have disclosed that an inordinate amount of the worker's time and skills are spent in establishing the facts of the "continued absence from the home" or the physical or mental disability (of the father in an A.D.C. family), determination of residence, citizenship, settlement, age, suitability of home, deserving character of the applicant, and in applying to each case a complicated and detailed budgeting formula. It is a fact that many of these eligibility factors are present in every category and that all, or most of them, could be abolished in a noncategorized program. There are states in which the settlement law is so complex and full of intricacies that, like the Chinese language, it requires a life-time of study and practice to become its master. A very sizable group of persons have obtained a semiprofessional status because they have become expert in the intricacies of these complex statutes. The fact

that settlement is cruel, wasteful of time and money, and wholly unnecessary has finally penetrated the minds of many persons but not of these so-called specialists in settlement. Whenever anyone is presumptuous enough to propose its abolition, all the settlement experts descend upon the legislature in droves to defend this outrageous statute. Perhaps the fact that abolition of it would automatically destroy their status as experts has something to do with the attitude of the settlement officials, but the implications of the situation ought to give pause to the rest of us. Are we, through establishing numerous categories with narrow and recondite eligibility requirements, building up a group of semiprofessional officials who will fight to preserve a needlessly complex and obsolete system because of their vested interests in it? There is some danger that this is happening.

Experts of many kinds are required in the administration of public assistance, but not simply to execute and interpret excessively narrow and vague eligibility requirements. Public assistance requires the services of persons who are skilled in social case work, medicine, accounting, research and statistics, and administration, among other things. The recipients of public assistance will require a great variety of medical services, including treatment by the whole gamut of specialists in medical care. A separately organized medical service for each category of assistance is neither required nor desirable. A single broadly conceived and effectively co-ordinated medical service, with all the required specialties represented, designed to serve all dependent persons in a community, may be considered our ideal until it is possible to obtain a similarly comprehensive and co-ordinated medical service for all the

people. It goes without saying that the accountant, the administrator, the research worker, and the personnel specialist could each serve as effectively in an integrated public assistance program as in a categorized one.

If the services of all other specialists can be utilized as effectively in a generalized public assistance program, what then is to be said about the case worker? Assuming that it were possible to free the social case worker of much of her burden of eligibility determination, thus allowing her sufficient time in which to do case work, would it be necessary or desirable to assign workers on the basis of specialized groups or categories? Would it then be desirable to have a special corps of workers for the aged, another for children, and another for the blind? In some quarters there is a disposition to continue the development of specialties in social work. In other places, however, there is a growing conviction that case work is generic, and that case-work services should be organized for individuals in need of help rather than for categories. For many years there has been a movement under way to amalgamate and to integrate case-work services to families and children. Some of the schools of social work, in co-operation with certain well-known hospitals, are currently experimenting with the development of a training program and the practice of a generalized social case-work service in a hospital setting, consolidating the former specialties of medical and psychiatric case work.

On the basis of these facts, it would appear that the case for categories in public assistance cannot be maintained on the grounds that each separate group requires a different type of case-work service. Indeed, it can be argued with a good deal of force that more effective use can

be made of the specialist in an integrated program than in the fragmented or categorized ones. Obviously it is possible to organize a better medical program for the larger generalized group than it is to organize three or four such programs to serve the same number of individuals divided into several smaller categories. Certainly it is more likely that a better program will be organized for the larger group. And the same might be said with equal truth about the other specialties.

Perhaps the strongest arguments against the categories fall in the area of administration. The great bulk of the local administrative units in this country—whether county, city, town, or township—are so small that even when the whole public assistance group is served by one agency the case load is too small for optimum efficiency in administration. In 1943 in the state of Ohio the A.D.C. case load was so distributed that fewer than 30 per cent of the counties had as many as one hundred cases and that only about 11 per cent had as many as two hundred cases. In the same year fewer than 16 per cent of the local units in Ohio that were responsible for general relief had an average of one hundred or more cases. The O.A.A. case load is much larger, but, even so, about half the counties had fewer than one thousand O.A.A. cases. In Massachusetts, where O.A.A., A.D.C., and general assistance are administered by the cities and towns, the combined case loads were such as not to warrant the employment of a full-time social worker in approximately one-half these local administrative agencies. It is needless to say that this situation would be made even worse if the several categories were to be administered by separate agencies with their own corps of workers. As the public assistance group diminishes in size—as it is expected to

do in the long run—it will become increasingly difficult to administer the categories separately, at least if local administration is maintained.

When categories of assistance are administered by separate agencies, or even by separate divisions in the same agency, the problems of co-ordination are numerous and complex. Each agency is likely to have different standards of assistance, varying standards of personnel, different policies, and diverse methods and procedures, all of which hinder effective co-ordination and co-operation. Try, as administrators have done, to achieve co-ordination, at best the results are usually rivalry and competition and at worst, conflict and irritation.

Categorized administration inevitably leads to duplication of staff, travel, home-visiting, record-keeping, reporting, budgeting, etc. Generalized administration, on the other hand, permits the savings that result from centralized and unified field staff, accounting, budgeting, filing, personnel, disbursing, and so forth. In the larger generalized agency it is possible to utilize to a greater extent the services of specialists and consultants in various fields in planning, policy-making, research, and management.

From the recipient's point of view, a noncategorical administration means less confusion, less likelihood of being given the "run-around" by being sent from one office to the other. When more than one type of assistance goes into the same family, it is simpler for everyone concerned if the family has to deal with only one agency and one worker. And it would be simpler still if the same budgeting system applied to all types of assistance. A recent study in one of the well-known United States cities disclosed that many families were receiving aid from three separate public assistance agencies and

yet only about one-half their budgetary needs were being met. Supplementation out of general relief funds of inadequate O.A.A. and A.D.C. payments is common in several communities. Would anyone doubt that a single agency operating in these settings could more effectively utilize the limited funds available for assistance in those communities?

INTEGRATION RECOMMENDED

Undoubtedly it was these and other considerations which have led the American Public Welfare Association and the federal Bureau of Public Assistance to recommend that all forms of public assistance be administered by single agencies at the local, state, and federal levels. The position of the Bureau of Public Assistance, as stated in its "Public Assistance Goals for 1947,"² reads as follows:

UNIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATION

We recommend that, where necessary, legislation be enacted to provide for unification of administration by placing responsibility for all the public assistance programs, including general assistance, in one state agency and, at the local level, in one local agency or branch of the state agency. . . . Handling of all the public assistance programs, including general assistance, by one state agency permits coordinated administrative and financial planning, which results in better balanced provisions for meeting need. At the same time, it would also enable specialized treatment to be provided in accordance with the particular needs of individuals and groups affected.

It is desirable for similar reasons, that one local agency administer all the public assistance programs in the locality. All requests for aid can be received at a central local office, and the applicant, freed from the necessity of going from agency to agency, can obtain the type of aid appropriate to his particular needs and those of his family. In addition, administration can be more efficient and economical when administra-

² See *Social Security Bulletin*, December, 1946, pp. 8-16.

tive, supervisory, and technical personnel can work on all types of assistance.

Unified administration facilitates the consideration of family needs as a whole. One agency can provide all the assistance, and duplicate investigations can be avoided.

The American Public Welfare Association, in the latest revision of its "Public Welfare Platform,"³ states that "Public Welfare is a comprehensive function in which various forms of economic aid and social services are so closely related that only through unified administration at all levels of government can consistent policy be achieved." Plank No. 11 in that platform proposes

that all aspects of the welfare program in which Federal Government participates financially be administered by a single agency at the local, state, and federal level. This proposal recognizes that a comprehensive welfare policy and an efficient administrative organization to carry out that policy through a unified, cohesive program cannot be achieved as long as public welfare programs are scattered in a variety of independent agencies at all levels of government.

It is to be noted that neither the A.P.W.A. nor the Bureau of Public Assistance recommends outright abolition of the categories, standing only for administration through single agencies at all levels of government. The great emphasis of both groups on "equal treatment," unity of policy, and elimination of such eligibility requirements as residence, settlement, citizenship, suitable home, etc., seems to the present writer to add up to effective abolition of the categories. However, the Public Welfare bill of 1947,⁴ which is the bill that undertakes to implement the A.P.W.A. twelve-point platform, simply provides for integrated administration on the state and local

levels of a generalized federal grant, leaving it up to the states to decide whether to divide the funds and administer them on a categorical basis. The latest report of the Federal Social Security Administration, in effect, supports this feature of the Cooper-Forand bill.⁵

Responding to the combined urging of the American Public Welfare Association and the Bureau of Public Assistance, state after state has moved in the direction of a unified administration of at least the three categories for which federal funds are available.

The American Association of Social Workers, in its platform statement concerning public assistance adopted at the 1944 Delegate Conference at Cleveland, implies a greater measure of integration than that advocated by the A.P.W.A. and the Bureau of Public Assistance. Its platform statement reads as follows:

Public assistance should be supplementary and complementary to the primary security program of social insurance and should be available to meet the needs of all those unable in other ways to maintain for themselves and their dependents an adequate standard of living. This objective can best be accomplished by a unified public assistance program in which need is the only condition of eligibility, and for which there is adequate financial and administrative participation by at least the federal and state governments, utilizing the principle of variable grants-in-aid. Assistance measures should be:

1. Broad enough in scope to provide for all needy persons not covered or inadequately protected by social insurance, regardless of the cause of their need, and regardless of race, creed, political affiliation, citizenship, or length and place of residence or any other arbitrary restriction on eligibility. Compulsive features of laws and rulings regarding family responsibility should be eliminated with respect to eligibility for public assistance.

³ *Public Welfare*, April, 1947, pp. 75-80.

⁴ House Bill 3636, filed by Representative Forand of Rhode Island, and Senate Bill 1355, filed by Senator Cooper of Kentucky.

⁵ *Annual Report of the Federal Security Agency*, Sec. I: *Social Security Administration*, 1947, pp. 13, 118-19.

2. Adequate to enable needy persons and their dependents to maintain acceptable standards of living and to prevent physical and social deterioration and breakdown of morale.
3. Administered as a right under procedures that are fair, understandable and of such a nature as to provide responsible participation on the part of the beneficiaries.
4. Designed to conserve the personal integrity and dignity of the persons in need and to assist them to return to self-maintenance wherever possible. Assistance should be provided in the normal medium of exchange and should be an unconditional payment.
5. Free from restrictive ceilings on assistance payments.

It is assumed that a "unified public assistance program in which need is the only condition of eligibility" would be a noncategorical program. How many states would administer a completely integrated public assistance program if the Cooper-Forand bill were enacted, is, of course, not known. Certainly congressional approval of this measure would remove the great sustaining force that now supports categorical assistance.

Can nothing be said then in support of categories in public assistance? If all the evidence and opinion is against the categories, why then do we have them and why do we continue to retain them? Unfortunately it is not so simple as that. Neither all the evidence nor all the opinion is against categories. Actually there is a very considerable block of opinion that supports categories, and there are some very practical reasons why we have categories and probably will continue to have them in this country. It might be quite true that, if and when the social insurance program reaches the stature that many of us hope for it and when and if we attain the ideal public assistance program in which need is the only condition of eligibility and in which there is in fact "equal treatment" for all in similar circumstances, then categories might

pass into history. Actually, however, we do not live in an ideal world, and we are not exactly taking giant strides in the direction of attaining the sort of assistance program that has been outlined.

The "facts of life" in this regard are that the public appears to be neither ready nor willing to support a generalized public assistance program in which all needy persons are offered adequate assistance on terms that would permit the recipients to live normal, comfortable lives while retaining their dignity and self-respect. Expressed the other way, the public is definitely unwilling to support this sort of program for certain groups in the community. Specifically, the public continues to look with askance and suspicion upon the able-bodied needy, the modern counterpart of the Elizabethan "sturdy beggar." This is the fellow that has been a stumbling block in the way of achieving a constructive public assistance program for over three centuries. Whether we like it or not, the general public continues to take a dim view of the person who is able to work and who cannot support himself and his family. It continues to believe that the average person is inherently lazy, that he prefers public assistance to work and self-support, and that if relief is made easy and comfortable, the taxpayers will have to support him indefinitely. For this reason men have set about industriously to devise assistance programs which would keep the genuinely needy from starving but which would be so harsh and deterrent that a person would be impelled to avoid them as long as possible and to depend upon one of them only so long as he had no other alternative. For three hundred years this attitude has been the chief consideration in shaping the public assistance programs in this country. It still characterizes the general

assistance program or, as it is termed in Illinois, "the pauper act," and its effects are seen even in the special categories. It carries over into the social insurances, where it remains the chief obstacle to securing adequate benefit schedules in unemployment compensation, for example. It is feared that persons will prefer drawing unemployment compensation benefits to taking a job. Inadequate as current unemployment benefits are, the charge is often made that they attract persons from jobs.

It was possible to obtain such categorical assistance as O.A.A., A.D.C., and A.B. only because it finally penetrated the public mind that these needy persons were outside the labor market, and in consequence it was considered "safe" to provide for them more decently than we formerly did under the poor law. Even so, we are cautioned against making these categorical assistances "too attractive," lest workers fail to save for their old age and lest wives abandon their husbands too readily and lest women be encouraged to acquire illegitimate children so that they can be supported by the appropriate assistance category. In Illinois and several other states in 1947 the A.D.C. program was under attack because certain large families received more income than they ever before enjoyed or more than the prevailing wage in certain communities and because some mothers who were considered capable of working outside the home preferred A.D.C. The result was the reduction in appropriations for that category and consequent reductions in the payments made to large numbers of A.D.C. families.

It is clear that the chief reason that we do not have federal aid for general relief is that it is in that residual category that the so-called "sturdy beggar" is

found. If and when federal aid is provided for general assistance, we may depend upon it that the grants will be carefully circumscribed so as to avoid any possibility that the able-bodied needy person will receive enough aid to make him content with relief. It would be possible today to have a generalized public assistance program, providing equal treatment, with need the only condition of eligibility, as we did have once under the poor law, but so long as the sturdy beggar remained in the group of recipients, the service would be little if any better than poor relief or general assistance programs, as we call them now. The character of the program would be shaped as is the poor law, to deter the sturdy beggar.

Much as we might dislike to accept the fact, it is indisputable that the progress that has been made to date in public assistance has been made by moving ahead with special groups for which the public was willing to provide a preferred kind of assistance. The fact of having succeeded in obtaining better treatment for one group has then given us a lever to secure improvements for other groups, including the residual category of poor relief. The substitution of cash relief for relief in kind in general assistance in many places is, in part at least, attributable to the fact that some people had the experience of administering cash relief in the special categories, recognized that it worked well, and so were induced to try it with the less-favored group. It is to be hoped that eventually, by inching ahead a little here and a little there, all the dependent groups will be brought up to an adequate level of support. There seems little doubt though, practically speaking, that the way to progress in the future, as in the past, is through the categories.

This raises the question: What cate-

gories remain in the general relief group that could be pulled out? The largest and perhaps the most logical group is the physically disabled. This is a rather sizable group, it is largely outside the labor market, and perhaps it is "ripe" for action. The state of Wisconsin has already made a beginning with this category. Obviously, if an insurance disability program could be obtained, it would be unnecessary to establish this category in public assistance, although an insurance program would not benefit those now disabled and needy. Until disability insurance has been created, the invalid group will constitute a large sector of those who have to depend upon inadequate and deterrent general assistance. If we applied ourselves with industry and imagination, we could probably find other suitable categories until at last "the breakup of the poor law" would be accomplished.

Another possibility that possesses a great deal of merit would be to make the unemployed a category by itself, in which case it might be possible to do something constructive with a generalized public assistance program for all the remaining needy, including the present categories. It will be remembered that Miss Edith Abbott proposed in 1940⁶ that the federal government take over and assume complete responsibility for all needy families in which there was an unemployed but employable person. The country might still come to consider this proposal. There is no doubt but that it would be a way of making progress toward our goal. Still another possibility that would be very nearly ideal would be for the government to move ahead with the proposal to assure full employment by guaranteeing a job in public works to

all persons who wanted to work but could not obtain employment in private industry. If this objective could be realized, then, theoretically, it should not be too difficult to abolish the categories and to move rapidly toward an adequate noncategorizing program.

Meanwhile what else can be done to move in the direction of an adequate and co-ordinated assistance program for all needy persons? Many states are finding it possible to avail themselves of the advantages of the public's willingness to support a more generous program for certain groups and at the same time to achieve a considerable measure of co-ordination and integration by administering all the assistance services through single integrated staffs at both state and local levels. Although they must continue to spend from different pockets for each category and although assistance standards and conditions of eligibility often vary among the categories, such agencies are in a position to achieve maximum co-ordination in administration and unity of policy and planning and at the same time to work effectively to lift all groups to a uniformly high plane. After this is said, it must be acknowledged that in many states where this integrated administration has occurred it has not resulted in lifting general relief to the level of the special categories but rather in pulling the latter down toward the level of general assistance. Social workers bear a heavy responsibility to work everlastingly to interpret the needs and problems of dependent persons to the public, so that "Mr. Average Man" can disabuse his mind of the harsh and erroneous beliefs which he harbors with respect to poor persons in general and to the sturdy beggar in particular.

⁶ Edith Abbott, "Unemployment Relief a Federal Responsibility," *Social Service Review*, XIV (September, 1940), 438-52.

SUMMARY

When we have achieved our ideal in public assistance, it will be a small, non-categorized service that supplements and underpins the other and more primary social security programs, including social insurance and public works. It will be financed by the federal and state governments and will offer adequate aid to all needy persons on terms that will promote their personal dignity, self-respect, and general well-being. In the past we have moved in the direction of this goal through the use of categories. It is likely that future progress must also be made by advancing the status of one group and another whenever the public is ready to support a better program for any group. Categorization, however, should be frankly acknowledged as expediency; it is a means to a more suitable assistance program for all needy persons; it is not an

end in itself. Once a category has been established, we should work for its elimination by trying to bring other groups up to its level. A great deal more of the social worker's time and effort should go into finding ways to interpret the dependent person (particularly the one who can work) to the public so that it will support necessary and appropriate public services to meet his needs in a constructive manner.

Having categories of assistance places heavy burdens upon their administrators to secure maximum co-ordination and efficiency in the programs while trying to consider and meet family needs as a whole. This can probably be achieved best by a unified administration of the several categories through single agencies at the federal, state, and local levels.

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THE CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY

DOROTHY FREEMAN

THE California Youth Authority was created at a time of crisis, when the tide of delinquency seemed to be rising all over the country. Nearly all of Europe was at war, and, before the act could become operative, the United States was also to be a nation at war. To these factors, the first of which had really called the Youth Authority into being, were added the limitations and difficulties imposed by a highly decentralized and unplanned state correctional system and by an inadequate appropriation for the new uncharted course to be followed.

The act¹ creating the Youth Correction Authority, later called the California Youth Authority, was passed in the spring of 1941 and became operative in September of that year. It added to the correction program of the state another tool to be used in combating the delinquency and crime of youth. While there were already programs in the state designed to meet that need and although they enjoyed co-operative relationships, they were sponsored and administered by a variety of agencies and organizations.

The earliest juvenile court law was passed in California in 1903. That law was amended nearly every biennium until in 1915 it was largely repealed and re-enacted. It set up the juvenile court within the superior court and extended its jurisdiction to neglected, dependent, and delinquent minors under the age of twenty-one years. This law, with some later amendments, was the juvenile court

law in 1941. The court had original jurisdiction over all misdemeanants who came within the definitions and included anyone who violated "any law of this state or any ordinance of any town, city or county of this state defining crime." The criminal and juvenile courts had concurrent jurisdiction in the case of an offender between eighteen and twenty-one years of age.

Probation, now provided for under the juvenile court law, was first used in California in 1883, when a law was passed to "provide for probation treatment to juvenile delinquency." In 1903 provision was made in the new juvenile court law for a probation committee and for probation officers. Under the current act, the probation committee of seven, appointed by the juvenile court judge, is responsible for the nomination of the probation officer, who is then appointed by the judge. Although as county officers they are responsible to the judge, in 1929 the probation officers became subject to some supervision from the State Department of Social Welfare through the department's Division of Probation. The reports and the relationships built up with the county probation departments made it possible to gain some knowledge of the administration and procedures of probation as it was being practiced. The Division of Probation also acted as a unifying agency. A State Parole and Probation Officers Association built up considerable *esprit de corps* among the personnel and was helpful in setting up standards of work. As elsewhere, probation was affected by the lack of standards for treatment, person-

¹ *California Statutes, 1941, chap. 937.*

nel, and remuneration. It was often the subject of controversy and discussion. Lay and professional suggestions for its reform were made to interested citizen groups, to the officers and committees, and to the legislature. One recommendation which appeared frequently was the need for greater state participation.² However, in spite of the difference in standards of performance, there were many good programs, some of them outstanding.

County juvenile halls or detention homes were the responsibility of the probation committees and were maintained for the temporary detention of the wards of the juvenile court. However, since there was no law to forbid the commitment to jail of a minor of sixteen years or over, the detention homes were really for the younger group.

There were three state correctional schools for minors in 1941. The history of reform schools in the state began in 1858 when the San Francisco Industrial School was established on the authorization of the state legislature in an effort to prevent the neglect and lawlessness of children.³ A year later the legislature

² Milton Chernin, *Probation-Prison-Parole* (Legislative Problem No. 6 [Berkeley, 1941]), p. 18; cf. also "Proposed State Probation Plans," *Transactions of the Commonwealth Club*, XXX (1936), 297-324.

³ California became a state less than five years after the territory became part of the United States. The early years were turbulent, following the discovery of gold and the coming of adventurers and seekers of fortune. Women were few, and many of those who started never reached the state or died soon after arrival owing to the hardships encountered. Orphans, half-orphans, and abandoned children ran the streets. After the vigilantes of San Francisco finished ridding the city of adult hoodlums and law-breakers, the city turned its attention to the "street arabs," the crippled or abandoned children on the streets (cf. Frances Cahn and Valeska Bary, *Welfare Activities of Federal, State, and Local Governments in California, 1850-1934* [Berkeley, 1936], p. 46).

authorized the establishment of a state reform school to care for boys, eight to sixteen years old, who had committed any crime punishable by imprisonment. The school was short lived and was never fully used, as no arrangements were made for the payment of officers who brought in the children and as there was disagreement as to which children were eligible for its services. The law establishing the school was repealed in 1867-68, and the boys were sent to the San Francisco Industrial School and to the United States Training Ship. Following legislation in 1875, the U.S. Ship "Jamestown" was transferred to the city and county of San Francisco to be used in preparing boys to be good seamen; but it was used, instead, for the temporary care of wayward boys. Administrative efforts to deal with this problem brought such accusations of mismanagement that the San Francisco Board of Supervisors returned the "Jamestown" to the United States government.

The Boys and Girls Aid Society of California, patterned after the children's aid societies of eastern states, was established in 1874 to care for homeless, neglected, and delinquent children along less formal lines than those the industrial schools followed; its activity was largely responsible for the Juvenile Probation Law of 1883.

The probation law did not meet the problem of children and youth in jail. Six years later, in 1889, two reform schools for juveniles were established. These two schools—the Preston School of Industry and the State Reform School, later renamed the Whittier State School and, since, renamed the Fred C. Nelles School for Boys—are still in use. A third school, the Ventura School for Girls, was an outgrowth of the Whittier Depart-

ment for Girls, separated from the parent-school in 1916.

Many changes were made in the more than fifty years of the activity of the schools, but in 1941 boys from eight to sixteen were sent to Whittier and those from fifteen to twenty-one to Preston. In the Preston group were some of the older boys who had committed more serious offenses and who were being cared for in a reformatory section. All three schools were under the Department of Institutions.

The legislature of 1941 repealed the act that had created the Bureau of Juvenile Research, which was in 1917 a department in the Whittier State School "for the clinical diagnosis of inmates of the school and other state institutions and to inquire into the causes and consequences of delinquency and mental deficiency and related problems." For the first four years the bureau remained a part of the school; in 1921, although it continued to be housed at Whittier until 1931, it was made a separate department for the psychological and sociological work of all the state institutions. The bureau carried on a valuable service under the Department of Institutions. It not only tested and studied children in the state institutions but took a traveling child-guidance clinic out into the state, published a regular journal of child-guidance material, and offered assistance to schools, courts, and agencies in the prevention of delinquency.

The Department of Charities and Corrections, established in 1903, had for many years carried the responsibility for the investigation of state institutions and had been in large measure responsible for the gradual improvement of their services and administration. Although the schools were placed in the Department of Institutions in 1921, the respon-

sibility for investigation remained with the Department of Charities and Corrections and passed to the Department of Social Welfare when that department was created in 1927.

The counties, through the probation departments, were conducting an active program of treatment of juvenile offenders. There was provision for their temporary care in county-operated detention homes or juvenile halls and for their placement in boarding homes. In Los Angeles County, the Probation Department, in co-operation with the County Forestry Department, established camps to house, detain, and provide work whereby transient nonresident boys, between sixteen and twenty-one years old, might earn their transportation home. The camps were so effective in the rehabilitation of the older, less-hardened youth, that they became a regular part of the department's program of treatment for this age group. In 1935 authorization for the establishment of such camps by all boards of supervisors was included in the juvenile court law (art. 12).⁴

A community-sponsored method of combating juvenile delinquency had been developing throughout the state in the form of co-ordinating councils. The first such council grew from a small group of persons in Berkeley, California, who in 1919 began to meet each week for lunch in order to co-ordinate their efforts in behalf of certain children's cases. Ten years later a state commission for the study of problem children discovered the group and its work and recommended

⁴Other counties established camps patterned after the model in Los Angeles County. San Francisco established a ranch school for twelve- to eighteen-year old boys in the near-by mountains (cf. O. H. Close, "California Camps for Delinquents," *Yearbook of the National Probation Association*, XXIX [1945], 142).

that a state co-ordinator be sent to travel throughout the state to initiate this system of co-ordination between agencies and organizations. No co-ordinator was supplied, but the idea began to spread. In 1930 the San Francisco Council was formed, its membership made up largely of professional representatives of the social, health, and correctional agencies. In 1932 the Los Angeles Council began; its membership soon expanded to include representatives of lay, as well as of professional, groups. The next year there were fifty councils in the state in both rural and urban areas. Two years later the councils united to form the California Coordinating Councils. Later, Coordinating Councils, Incorporated, was organized. These councils, which have continued to increase in number, have been an effective co-operative effort against delinquency.⁵ They are now assisted by the Youth Authority, and in the year ended April 1, 1946, forty-two new councils were formed. A quarterly bulletin, *Community Organization for Youth*, is published.

Despite the efforts of these groups to control juvenile delinquency, the situation in 1941 was serious. In the year ended June 30, 1941, there were 12,952 children before the juvenile courts. Of the 8,899 who were held under the jurisdiction of the court, 38 per cent were between sixteen and twenty years of age. Of the 4,050 who did not remain under the court's jurisdiction, 2,294 were dismissed, 94 were remanded to other courts for trial, and 434 were committed to correctional schools. At the end of the same year, there were 17,992 minors on probation in the state, two-thirds of whom

were between thirteen and eighteen years of age. The report of the State Department of Social Welfare covering this period draws attention to the fact that the juvenile court does not distinguish between delinquent and neglected children but "envisions all children coming under its jurisdiction as being in need of the guardianship of the court. For this reason protection and guidance, rather than just correction, are prime objectives of juvenile probation." It was also pointed out that the figures, even in 1943, did not yet reflect the rising delinquency rate.

A study made in 1942 by the then newly created Youth Correction Authority, based on the 1940 records of police and sheriffs' offices, showed that 40 per cent of all serious offenses in the state had been committed by youths between fifteen and twenty-one years of age. Fifty thousand children had been arrested; twenty-two thousand had been brought before the juvenile court.⁶

The state had reason to be concerned about delinquency and about its correctional program. The correctional schools were the target for a great deal of criticism. There had been a series of scandals at Preston over a period of many years—scandals that involved both escapes and methods of treatment. For some time prior to 1941 there had been sharp criticism of Whittier (the Fred C. Nelles School). Public criticism centered about the disciplinary cottage. A report made by a legislative committee two years later said that the disciplinary unit

should be either abandoned entirely or completely remodeled at the earliest possible opportunity. The slightest relaxation of vigilance may easily result in another tragedy similar to

⁵ Kenneth S. Beam, *Coordinating Councils in California* (California State Department of Education Bulletin, September, 1938).

⁶ *The Youth Authority, Organization and Program* (1945), p. 5.

the two suicides which completely demoralized the institution a few years ago.⁷

Each school was in charge of its own parole program. Figures for 1939 showed that twelve officers were supervising 1,616 parolees from three schools. Actually the number handled by each officer varied from 65 at the Ventura School for Girls to 145 older youths paroled from Preston.⁸

A joint fact-finding committee of the legislature of 1941 recommended the establishment of a state-integrated correctional system; but what to do with the correctional schools was a difficult question. There were those who thought the schools were neglected by the Department of Institutions because of its major interest in mental hygiene; others believed the schools should remain in that department until a department of corrections could be set up. There were advocates of the New York plan of placing them under the Department of Social Welfare, and there were those who urged making them a part of the Youth Correction Authority, the bill for the creation of which was before the legislature. No action was taken with regard to the schools in the 1941 session.

The California Prison Association expressed interest in the Model Youth Correction Authority Act soon after it was adopted by the American Law Institute. Assisted in planning by an adviser from the institute, a conference was called in November, 1940, by the Prison Association to discuss and consider the act in relation to its possible use by the state. Two hundred of those most interested in the legal, social, psychological, and treatment aspects of youthful delinquency

and correction attended. The Model Act was thoroughly discussed, the principle accepted, and a committee appointed to draft an act to present to the legislature.⁹ The first draft of the bill was presented in the Assembly on January 22, 1941. Widespread publicity in newspapers, periodicals, and civic clubs grew out of the November conference. Members of the drafting committee seized every opportunity to present the California plan and its parent-act to interested groups.

The California act, which was passed June 14, 1941, was similar to the Model Act of the American Law Institute with a few major differences. It created a Youth Correction Authority whose function was "to provide and administer preventive and corrective training and treatment for persons committed to it as hereinafter provided." The new organization had an appropriation of \$100,000, the amount to which the senate had reduced the assembly's provision of \$200,000.

The Youth Authority, as provided by legislation up to and including 1945, is composed of three members, serving overlapping terms of four years, charged with the responsibility of "substituting for retributive punishment methods of training and treatment directed toward the correction and rehabilitation of young persons found guilty of public offenses." One member of the Authority is the choice of the governor, two are appointed by him from a list recommended by an advisory panel.¹⁰ One of the mem-

⁹ *State Action on the Model Youth Correction Authority Act* (American Law Institute, 1941), pp. 8-10; cf. also James H. Phillips, "The Creation, Development, and Accomplishments of the Prison Association of California," *Proceedings, American Prison Association, 1941*, pp. 453-57.

¹⁰ The advisory panel included the presidents of the California Conference of Social Work, the California Probation and Parole Association, the State Bar of California, the California Medical As-

⁷ *Final Report of the Governor's Committee on Penal Affairs* (Sacramento, 1944), p. 51.

⁸ These figures are compiled from the *Statistical Report of the State Department of Institutions, 1941*.

bers is named director by the governor, and the administration and program are his responsibility, and he may delegate functions and powers and designate any officer or employee to represent him at meetings of the Authority when he is unable to attend because of his other duties.¹¹

The California act set up general qualifications for the members of the Authority, following verbatim the suggestions in the Model Act. Each was to have, so far as possible, legal and administrative ability, educational experience, and experience in the study of youthful offenders and in planning corrective training and treatment. There was to be no residence requirement.¹²

As in the Model Act the Authority was given opportunity to prepare for service and was to certify to the governor when it was ready to accept commitments. After that time a court might, on verification of age, refer to the Authority a youth, less than twenty-three years of age at the time of apprehension, who had been convicted in a criminal court—if he were not sentenced to life-imprisonment or death, to imprisonment for ninety days or less, or to the payment of a fine, or if he had not been granted probation.

The differences here are evident. Instead of an upper age limit of twenty-

one, as in the Model Act, the age limit is placed at twenty-three; no lower age limit is given. A judge might impose a short sentence of imprisonment of three times the length suggested by the Model Act; the judge might also grant probation; but no jail sentence of more than three months could be required of one being granted probation. The decision to leave the granting of probation in the hands of the court could be considered a bid for the support of the new program by the judges, and a realistic admission that the Authority might not be in a position to care for all the youths who would be placed on probation. It also reflects the feeling of the members of the Authority that the most effective work can be done in the community where the young person belongs.¹³

The act provided for permissive commitment to the Authority by the juvenile court, but, where the Model Act set a lower age limit of sixteen years, the California law set none. Referral by the courts and acceptance by the Authority were to be permissive until January 1, 1944, after which date commitment and acceptance of those coming within the provisions would be compulsory.

A person under twenty-three sentenced to jail must be placed in a jail approved by the Authority. Pending orders from the Authority, one who had been committed might be released on bail or allowed liberty under conditions the judge thought would insure "his submission to the Authority." A copy of the Order of Commitment must be sent to the Authority and records and case history of the district attorney and the Probation Office furnished to the Au-

sociation, and the California Prison Association. All appointments were subject to confirmation by the senate.

¹¹ Since February, 1947, there has been an assistant director with offices in San Francisco who represents the director in that area. In the south the chief of field services, with offices in Los Angeles, may be asked to act for the director in specified situations.

¹² Provision for the initial and continuing appointments was set up. A member could be removed by the governor for misconduct, incompetency, and neglect of duty; charges in writing and an opportunity for a hearing were guaranteed. Annual salary was set at \$10,000.

¹³ Karl Holton, "Meeting the Challenge of Juvenile Delinquency" (paper read at the California Conference of Social Work, 1946).

thority. Provision was made for a new trial or appeal.

The powers and duties of the Authority were, in general, like those of the Model Act. It might make and enforce all appropriate rules, but it was limited to funds made available for its use. It might (a) establish and operate services, (b) create administrative districts, (c) employ and discharge suitable personnel in accordance with the civil service laws of the state.

To carry out its duties and powers, the Authority was empowered to use existing facilities, institutions, and agencies; its control over the charges placed therein would continue, and they could not be released from the facility without notification to the Authority. However, the Authority was to have no control over the management or administration of the facilities so used but could inspect them. Commitments from the Authority were to be accepted as commitments from a court. The Authority was prohibited from transferring a youthful offender to a hospital for the insane or to a home for the feeble-minded except in the manner prescribed by law.

After commitment to the Authority, a person might be released under supervision; ordered to confinement, renewed confinement, or release; have his previous orders revoked or modified; or be discharged from control when the Authority was satisfied that it was "consistent with the protection of the public." However, the granting of probation, commitment to an institution, granting and revoking of parole, and issuance of final release were reserved to the Authority; all other powers and duties could be exercised through subordinates.

The Authority was given the right—again, when funds were available—to establish its own agencies and facilities

for detention, examination, education, treatment, and parole activities, the exact terms of the Model Act being used in this provision.

For the examination of persons committed to the Authority the California law called for an interval of not more than one year between examinations, rather than the two years of the Model Act. In case of failure to be examined or re-examined within two years, the person involved might petition for an order of discharge from the superior court which committed him. The court could grant the discharge unless satisfied by the Authority of the need for further control. As in the Model Act, the examinations were to be the basis upon which treatment of the offender was planned and continued. The broad definitions of the types of treatment to be required were, as in the Model Act, participation in vocational, educational, and corrective training and activities; such conduct and modes of life best adapted to fit the person to return to full liberty without danger to public welfare; other modes of treatment conducive to the correction of the person and to the prevention of future public offenses. The Authority was to keep the person in its control under continued study as a means of contributing to his individual needs for treatment and care and, except for the limitations noted below, was to retain him under control as long as necessary for the protection of the public. He was to be discharged as soon as he could be given full liberty with reasonable probability of no danger to the public.

The provisions formulated in the Model Act for continued control and for discharge were adapted to the existing California law and the state constitution.

(a) Every person committed by the juvenile court shall be discharged on the expiration of a

two year period of control or when the person reaches his twenty-first birthday, whichever occurs later; (b) every person convicted of a misdemeanor . . . shall be discharged upon the expiration of a two-year period of control or when the person reaches his twenty-third birthday, whichever occurs later; (c) every person . . . convicted of a felony shall be discharged when such person reaches his twenty-fifth birthday, unless a petition is filed under Article 5.

On discharge from control by the Authority, a person who has not been placed in a state prison may petition the committing court "and the court may upon such petition set aside the verdict of guilty and dismiss the information against the petitioner who shall thereafter be released from all penalties and disabilities resulting from the offense or crime for which he was committed."

However, should the Authority believe it would not be safe for the public that the person be allowed full freedom and should the date of discharge occur before the expiration of a term equal to the maximum sentence prescribed by law for the offense for which he was committed, the Authority may so petition the committing court, making the reasons available to the court in writing. The law provides for notification of the offender and his parents or guardians, for opportunity for him to appear with counsel, and for appointment of counsel if the offender is unable to provide his own. The court may discharge the person, admit him to probation, or commit him to a state prison for a term not to exceed the maximum term provided by law for the offense less the time he was under the control of the Authority.

While the processes of this provision are like those of the Model Act, it is less far-reaching in effect. The time of continued control is definitely limited, and

the person is passed on into the hands of another correction agency.

Right of appeal is guaranteed. The accused may appeal his commitment to prison in the foregoing situation, as in any criminal case; he may petition for review by the Authority of any order given by a subordinate; he may appeal his original conviction.

Two changes were made in the juvenile court law of particular importance to the Youth Authority: (1) provision was made for commitment to the Authority of juvenile court wards who the judge thought could benefit thereby, and (2) the juvenile court's right to modify or set aside any order it had made was extended to its commitments to the Youth Authority.¹⁴

As soon as practicable after the date upon which the law became effective, the advisory panel met and recommended members for the Authority to the governor. Both men¹⁵ selected by the governor from those recommended by the panel refused the appointment because the funds appropriated were insufficient to pay salaries and to carry on a program as well. Accordingly, the legislature, in a special session held early in 1942, amended the act for the first time—and as a temporary measure—to allow these men to retain the positions they were already holding and also serve on the Authority without compensation, giving what time they could. The governor's choice, Mr. Harold Slane, formerly Deputy District Attorney of the city of Los Angeles, served full time, on salary. The Authority met for the first time on January 23, 1942, and elected Mr. Close as chairman.

¹⁴ The judge of an adult court cannot suspend execution on his order of commitment to the Youth Authority.

¹⁵ O. H. Close, superintendent of the Preston School of Industry, and Karl Holton, chief probation officer of Los Angeles County.

With little money and no staff the task seemed stupendous. The Authority had to prepare to accept by January, 1944, all commitments of cases of the age group under twenty-three; it had to draw up necessary legal forms; provide temporary places of detention and the necessary diagnostic clinics; employ personnel to supervise and carry out its functions; study existing facilities for correction and treatment, preparatory to making definite recommendations for future needs; create administrative districts; and assist in a state-wide delinquency-prevention program.¹⁶ The central and administrative offices of the Authority were established in one of the state office buildings in the state capital along with the other departments of the state correction system.

While the wheels had been grinding in preparation for the functioning of the Authority, the situation in which it was to be active had grown more complex. After December 8, 1941, California was practically on the front line of the Pacific War. The quickened tempo of industrial production, the almost immediate concentration of troops, coupled with the dim-out, the hysteria, and the disorganization of war, stimulated the already increasing delinquency rate and lessened the chances for obtaining adequate personnel.

However, an office was established and the groundwork laid for a functioning organization. It was decided to place emphasis on a diagnostic clinic, and facilities were obtained on the grounds of the Preston School of Industry, made possible by the Authority's power to contract with other agencies. A civil service examination for a clinical psychologist

was held; however it was not possible to find a full-time psychiatrist, but arrangements were made with the psychiatrists at Stockton State Hospital, about fifty miles from Preston, for part-time service. By early fall of 1942, twenty-two boys had been committed to the Authority and had been, or were being, studied in the clinic, which was equipped to care for thirty at one time. A survey of youth in the courts of the state during 1940 was made to help in forming an estimate of the case load which the Authority would be expected to carry when it had to accept all commitments.

Within three months the Authority had been requested to assume the management of the three correctional schools.¹⁷ Working with and through the Director of Institutions, the Authority was to make recommendations as to employment of personnel and as to policy and procedure. Whittier was the troubled spot, and immediate action was taken leading to the civil service appointment of a permanent superintendent; the Authority sent in a representative, borrowed from the State Probation Department, to help reorganize the school. The superintendent at Ventura was to retire in a few months. A representative of the Authority lived at the school for two months to make a study, assisted by the superintendent and staff, with the view of recommendations for changes. The schools were of insufficient space or diversity of program to meet the needs of those who were later to be committed. The files of the defunct Bureau of Juve-

¹⁷ After the transfer of the correctional schools to the Authority in 1943 the Taxpayers' Association, the State Personnel Board, the Department of Education, the Department of Finance, and the Department of Health helped in making a study of the three schools. This resulted in a plan for reorganization of the training program, which was presented to the legislature in 1945; and a sufficient appropriation allowed the plans to be carried out.

¹⁶ Karl Holton, "The Youth Correction Authority in Practice," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, IX (1942), 656-57.

nile Research were collected and transferred to the Diagnostic Clinic, and its able director was employed part time to continue the work in the counties where needed, in co-ordination with the work of the Diagnostic Clinic. The legality and force of the various provisions were being tested by use and by opinions of the attorney-general. The need of new powers or modification of old powers was becoming evident.

The first two years were devoted to basic organization and treatment planning—including the study of numbers and types of persons who might be committed to the Authority; the evaluation of the law to find in what way the Authority could serve the state and the formulation of suggestions for improving the act to that end; the establishment, on a small scale, of a diagnostic clinic to study the few cases the Authority was able to accept. During this period, although the existence of the Authority was threatened by its inability to do more than touch the mounting problems,¹⁸ a foundation was laid for its future effectiveness.

The fate of this struggling new agency was in the hands of the 1943 legislature, in which the Authority had enemies as well as friends. But Governor Warren, the previous attorney-general, was very friendly to the Authority and wished it to be an effective tool in the state correctional system. In his inaugural address he said:

From . . . long experience in law enforcement work, I have come to feel . . . that we have been making a wrong approach to our crime problem. I am convinced that we must revise our program so that emphasis is placed on prevention rather than suppression. If we can bring our juvenile courts, our trial courts, our law enforcement agencies and our penal

institutions into harmony with such an approach, I am confident we will have made a definite contribution to our future welfare.

We have, I feel, already agreed upon the necessity of expanding the influence of the California Youth Correction Authority. I visualize such transfers and consolidations of existing agencies as will streamline, under this authority, all services in the interests of youth in dire need of a helping hand.

Out of this legislature there came assistance in the form of a special million-dollar appropriation for the biennium, earmarked for certain facilities and services: a camp for older boys, a school for younger boys to relieve the Nelles School (Whittier), a school for younger girls to relieve Ventura, and funds to organize delinquency prevention.¹⁹ Actually, the experience and planning of the previous two years dictated the changes in, and additions made to, the law.

The administration of the Authority was improved by the provision to continue one salaried member on full time, with power to act as the civil executive officer and to exercise authority except in respect to classification, segregation, parole, or placement. The other two members were to be compensated per diem up to ten days a month. The president of the California Teachers Association was added to the advisory panel, and rules were added or amended regarding appointment of temporary members of the Authority.

Provision was added for the collection of statistics to study the causes of crime in the state or to carry out the functions of the Authority, and permission was given to contract with colleges and universities for purposes of research and for the training of special workers.

Fifty per cent of the cost of mainte-

¹⁸ Charles L. Chute, "California Youth Authority, 1944," *Probation*, XXIII (1944), 2.

¹⁹ Karl Holton, "Correctional Facilities in California" *California Law Enforcement Officers Conference on Juvenile Delinquency Control*, 1944, p. 44.

nance of the youths committed to the Authority was to be collected from the counties of commitment—unless commitment was to a state prison.

The procedure for a person found to be defective or psychopathic was that he should be returned to the committing court for discharge from the Authority and for recommitment to the Department of Institutions. Because questions had already arisen as to the binding force of a commitment to the Authority, a section was added defining commitment as a judgment within the meaning of the penal code. This was a technical point which was further strengthened in 1943 by a supreme court decision upholding commitment to the Authority as a determination of fact of definite conviction.²⁰

In accordance with the suggestions of the governor, certain corrective functions and institutions, including the Probation Department, with its staff and the budget as planned by the State Department of Welfare, were transferred to the Authority, which was directed to investigate, examine, and make reports upon adult and juvenile probation.

Although the Authority had assumed the management of the correctional schools in the informal agreement of 1942, they were still nominally under the Department of Institutions, until 1943, when they were transferred to the Youth Authority by the legislature with regulations regarding the general administration; employment; the conduct, education, and discipline in the schools; escapes, paroles, and dismissals; and finances.

The Youth Authority became a part of the unified state correctional system when this was created in 1944. The Board of Corrections, composed of the

director, the Adult and Youth authorities, and two members each from the Board of Prison Directors and the Board of Trustees of the Women's Prison, correlates the programs of the various divisions. It is, in addition, charged to study "the entire subject of crime" and to make its findings and recommendations known to the legislature at each session and to the governor at his request.

The Youth Authority was not made subject to the supervision of the department. At this session also, the maximum age of those to be committed to the Authority was limited to persons under twenty-one at time of apprehension. This coincided with the upper age limit of juvenile court jurisdiction.

Preventive activity was strengthened by the establishment, or assistance in the establishment, of delinquency-prevention agencies or assistance to those already existing; and provisions were made for co-operation in the work of improving conditions for youth in any community. The Authority was taken out of the purely corrective field by deletion of the word "correction" from its name so that it became henceforth the "California Youth Authority."

Methods of treatment were broadened by inclusion of "work necessary and proper to be done" by the various national and state divisions having jurisdiction over natural resources—so that the Authority could enter into contracts with these divisions. Forestry camps²¹ were planned to help boys who could benefit by such placement; also to help relieve the pressure in the correctional schools.

The legislative committees investigat-

²¹ Authorization for the establishment by the Authority of such camps, either independently or with the Department of Natural Resources or Forestry and in connection with the correctional schools, was also included in the juvenile court laws.

²⁰ *In re Herrera*, 23 Cal. 2d 211 (1943).

ing delinquency and penal affairs were active in the summer and late fall of 1943. The preliminary report of the Delinquency Committee gave evidence of real support for, and belief in, the Youth Authority throughout the state. The Penal Affairs Committee reported to the governor early in 1944, making eighteen recommendations of which the first was for a centralization of all penal and correctional functions in one department. Another suggested the abolition of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, to be replaced by an Adult Authority on the level of the Youth Authority, to fix terms of paroles and to establish classifications.

Later the Authority was given power to require persons committed to it to work for the federal government until the termination of the war, with proper payment for work to be made to the persons in its custody by the Authority. Two provisions added to the juvenile court law provided that no child under eight years of age and no one suffering from a contagious or infectious disease could be committed to the Authority. A juvenile accused of a felony, but against whom no information or indictment had been filed, and committed to the Authority might be returned to the committing court if he showed himself unable to benefit from the Authority's discipline.

Action of the 1943 legislature gave the Authority a much more practical basis for an effective organization, but, as time went on, it was evident that there were still changes to be made. The *Preliminary Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Juvenile Delinquency* had recommended, among other things, that minors between sixteen and eighteen years of age be separated from others in jail; that there be study and standardization of probation; that all members of the Youth Authority be returned to full time.

The Authority, as a body, retained the powers and duties of classification, segregation, parole, and placement; and all its other powers and duties were to be exercised by the director or delegated by him to appropriate officers. The Authority was given power to return a juvenile to the committing court when he proved unable to benefit by Authority discipline, and this power was to apply to any person charged with or convicted of a public offense and committed to the Authority. Provision was also made for payment to a private home for the care of a parolee.

To make better provision for the care of children in their own communities and under local control, county boards of supervisors were authorized to establish juvenile homes, camps, ranches, or other facilities to which juveniles could be sent who would otherwise be committed to the Authority. Complete operation and authority for the administration was to be vested in the county; but the Authority was to prescribe the minimum standards of construction, operation, programs, and qualifications of personnel for the homes or camps. The number of children in each camp or home and the number of camps per county were limited. The Youth Authority was to reimburse each county meeting the minimum standards up to 50 per cent of the cost of maintaining each child. The juvenile court law was amended to prohibit the detention in jail of any person under eighteen. The first progress report of the Department of Corrections included a recommendation for a new correctional institution of medium security for youthful offenders to be used both by the Youth Authority and the Department of Corrections. The 1945 legislature provided for the establishment of such an institution, which, in a temporary structure, is al-

ready being used to capacity by the Authority.

During the war, the Committee on Youth in Wartime, a part of the War Council of the State of California, was active in advising and working with the Authority, which carried out many of the committee's recommendations. When the War Council expired, the governor created the California Youth Committee with almost the same personnel as its predecessor, to act in an advisory capacity to the Youth Authority and to make recommendations to other departments dealing with youth.²²

The program of the Authority has extended beyond that of the first two years both in complexity and scope. However, the Authority has never had committed to it, or been able to accept, all youths who come within the meaning of the act, which calls for compulsory commitment of all youths under twenty-one convicted of a public offense (with certain exceptions) after a certain date. Each legislature has advanced that date, the 1947 legislature setting it at January 1, 1950. Until then the judge *may refer* and the Authority *may accept* a youth for care and treatment. Even though facilities were increased in 1943 and 1944, they were, and are still, hardly adequate to care for the numbers of those voluntarily referred and committed to the Authority.

In general, cases referred by the courts are acted upon with reasonable promptness, but admissions to facilities barely keep pace with the numbers of those awaiting admission. The director expresses concern about "youth languishing in jail" while they await room in a Youth Authority facility. Emphasis is placed on the preventive aspects of the

Authority's work and on co-operation with preventive agencies. Assistance is provided to those who have been paroled or discharged.

The California Youth Authority, like the authors of the Model Act, look toward the rehabilitation of the youthful offender and the prevention not only of the original offense but of recidivism: Early in that discouraging first year Mr. Holton, who is now the director of the Authority, expressed its aim and hope:

For the first time we have an agency which can make every facility, public and private, which exists within the state, available to every county, to every court, and to every young man and woman; for the first time we have an agency that can consistently promote standards of casework and of personnel and of institutional and agency programs; for the first time we have an agency which, with a minimum of red tape, can treat offenders as individuals; for the first time we have an agency which can promote a worthwhile delinquency and crime prevention program on a statewide basis.²³

The Authority has not as yet published annual reports for the interested public or for the legislature.

THE PROGRAM OF THE AUTHORITY

The real activity of the Authority began after the legislative appropriation of funds in 1943. The program was developed on the theory that the responsibility of the Youth Authority for the care and treatment of delinquent youth would come only after all the resources in the local community had failed to divert antisocial behavior into constructive channels. Mr. Holton, the director, has said that it would be a mistake if the enthusiasm for a new organization should lead to the turning-over of children to a centralized authority, unless necessary.

²² Robert A. McKibben, "The California Youth Committee," *California Conference of Social Welfare*, April, 1946.

²³ Karl Holton, "Youth Correction Authority in Action," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, IX (1942), 662.

I would like to see control of children kept at home or in the hands of local officials as far as humanly possible. . . . [We should] integrate courts, caseworking agencies, casework institutions into a prevention and care program on the local level first.²⁴

For those who are accepted by the Authority, treatment is provided in three steps or phases. These represent the functioning of the three major divisions: (1) Diagnosis and Classification; (2) Training and Treatment; (3) Field Services.

The Division of Diagnosis and Classification was set up for the examination and study of each youth committed to the Authority as to the "facts of his life pertinent to" his violations of law, in order to provide the basis for all subsequent treatment. This is in fact the first step in treatment. It was the first division organized and was used the first two years as a service demonstration and for working out methods, procedures, and plans of service. The chief of the division has offices in the Authority headquarters. The Diagnostic Clinic, through which most of the division's work is done, was placed in its own separate quarters on the grounds of the Preston School of Industry, even though almost from the first, its presence has been considered a disorganizing factor at the school.²⁵ Its location is somewhat removed from the more populous sections of the state from which most commitments come. In the fall of 1942 the clinic capacity was thirty boys a month. By 1946, the capacity had been increased to one hundred a month, although one hundred and twenty boys

were sometimes resident in the clinic at a given time. By 1946, facilities had been added to make possible similar study and examination of girls committed to the state schools for girls. Girls and younger boys on being committed to the Authority by the court may be sent directly to a correctional school, where the psychological study is made by the school psychologist.

The division has never had full-time psychiatric service, as officials preferred to continue with a part-time psychiatrist until "just the right person" was found. Three clinical psychologists are on the staff of the Diagnostic Clinic at Preston, and more recently a full-time clinical psychologist was added at each of the girls' schools.

The older boys who are committed to the Authority are examined and studied in the clinic at Preston, where they remain from three to six weeks. During this time they are observed under controlled conditions until the diagnostic study is made. The Authority has the benefit of social and other information provided by the committing court, the district attorney, or the probation officer. While the youth is at the clinic, the purpose and opportunities offered by the Authority are explained, and he is encouraged to make plans for himself.

The urgency of the problems presented governs the order in which youths are examined. Those presenting serious personality problems are seen by the visiting psychiatrist or, if necessary, are temporarily transferred to one of the state hospitals for more extended psychiatric observation and treatment.

The findings of the diagnostic studies are assembled in one report, which, with conclusions and recommendations, is presented to the membership of the Authority for planning the treatment

²⁴ Karl Holton, "Correctional Facilities in California," *California Law Enforcement Officers Conference*, 1944, p. 13.

²⁵ "Report of the Sub-committee Investigating Conditions at the Preston School of Industry," *California Assembly Daily Journal*, January 17, 1947, p. 102.

and care of the youth under consideration. Each report is fully discussed with members of the staff present from the divisions having any responsibility for the youth. Before the final decision is made, the boy himself appears before the Authority and is free to speak as he wishes.

Periodic examinations are made of the youth after his transfer to a facility as is required by the act. In some instances he returns to the clinic for these examinations. In a few cases the clinic has been able, where it was indicated, to attempt extensive psychological re-education.

A few youths, not to exceed 2 to 3 per cent, are rejected by the Authority and returned to the committing court, usually because they are just over twenty-one and seem incorrigible or of an adult-criminal type. Youths who are shown to be so mentally limited, emotionally disturbed, or psychotic that they are unable to profit by the Authority program may also be returned to the committing court. In cases of this kind the Authority may initiate the proceedings for their commitment to a state mental institution.

The Authority understands the limitations of the clinic as to both capacity and psychiatric staff. In the special legislative session of 1945 an appropriation was made for two reception centers, and the Authority planned to acquire sites near Sacramento and near Los Angeles.

When these two centers are established, the clinic can be moved from Preston, and a larger group of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred boys and girls a month can be cared for. All clinical and diagnostic services will be concentrated in these units and should add to the efficiency and effectiveness of the service.

In the Division of Training and Treatment, which was organized after the cor-

rectional schools were transferred to the Youth Authority in 1943, a ward of the Authority, as the second step in his treatment, is assigned to a correctional school or to a treatment facility on the basis of the findings and recommendations of the diagnostic clinic and the decisions of the members of the Authority.

The division has general direction of the planning and program of all treatment facilities. Emphasis was immediately placed on providing more space and staff. In twenty years there had been no addition to the schools, although the population of the state had doubled. The appropriation of the 1943 legislature was directed in large part toward increasing the facilities. To the three existing schools—Nelles, Preston, and Ventura—were added a forestry camp for older boys in the summer of 1943; the Los Guilucos School for Girls in September, 1943; and the Fricot Ranch School for boys in March, 1944. Later in the spring and summer of 1944, two work camps for older boys were established with the cooperation of the Army. These added facilities increased the capacity by approximately 62 per cent. In anticipation of the closing of the army camps, plans were laid for the extension of the Forestry Camp program. Early in 1946 the Vocational Institution, the long-hoped-for medium security institution of the Department of Corrections, was made available.

The treatment facilities of the Authority include not only correctional schools and camps but the boarding homes, occasionally used for some of the younger children, and the more secure institutions of the Department of Corrections, used by the Authority for some of the older youths convicted of felonies.

Five schools are in use. Fricot Ranch School, established in March, 1944, in

the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, is an "open" school designed for the younger, less-hardened juvenile delinquent boy under fifteen. Originally planned for one hundred boys, emphasis is placed on individual treatment. The program centers about the educational activity, and prevocational work classes which may furnish maintenance work for the school are secondary to the constructive training and education. Instruction is on an individual basis; most of the boys are retarded in achievement on arrival and need much help and guidance. The state hopes to extend both the program and the capacity of this school.

The Nelles School, transferred to the Authority in 1943, receives boys of sixteen years and under who with few exceptions have been seriously delinquent. Approximately 10 per cent have been reported psychopathic or defective delinquents. Nelles accommodates three hundred and fifteen boys on the cottage plan, with a man and wife as housefather and housemother, in charge of each cottage. The program is based on a threefold responsibility: to educate in order to provide the tools of successful living; to keep the boy off the streets and away from the influences that got him into trouble until he becomes able to meet them; to help him have an inner desire to live an acceptable life. In this last point the chaplains are helpful, but the school relies on the entire staff to teach by example as well as by precept. Nelles has been commended for its well-organized personnel and its in-service training program. However, a more adequate medical and psychiatric staff and improvement of the receiving and disciplinary units have been recommended.²⁶

Preston School of Industry, the third

²⁶ *Final Report of the Governor's Investigation Committee on Penal Affairs*, pp. 51-53.

and largest of the boys' schools, provides corrective training for youths from fifteen to twenty-one years of age who are more confirmed in delinquency. Here alone the age range falls within the age limits prescribed by the Model Act of the American Law Institute. The boys enter by direct commitment of the juvenile court, by return from parole, by transfer from Nelles, or by commitment by the Youth Authority. After medical examination at the hospital those of the first three groups go to the receiving unit for two months for testing and study. The fourth group is sent to the Youth Authority Clinic. Those in the receiving unit are further studied by the classification committee, which attempts to see that the boy's individual needs are met. A clinical psychologist makes the initial study and offers follow-up study. The boys are divided into fourteen companies, based on military organization, with some division for age. There is classroom instruction and trade training; and athletic competition is used both for training and for recreation.

Overcrowding had been a problem at Preston. One investigating committee reported that, of the estimated 10 per cent who were psychopathic or defective delinquents, nearly 47 per cent were custodial risks and 53 per cent presented serious personality problems. There were, and continue to be, few facilities for segregation. The wide age range, the type of offense, and the number of psychopaths have forced the school to try to be combination training school, reformatory, and medium security prison. Personnel standards and performance have been complained of and salaries declared inadequate. The placing of the Authority's Diagnostic Clinic on the school grounds has been a disturbing factor. After a greatly increased number of escapes in

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1946 and unrest and dissension within the school, a legislative committee report repeated previous criticisms, including (1) poor personnel practices, relationships, behavior; (2) lack of facilities for segregation of gangs and psychopaths; (3) laxity in discipline by some supervisory officers; (4) differences growing out of changes of policy, philosophy, and personnel of the new administration. The committee suggested a study of the escapes at the school, a revision of the school's rules and regulations, and attention to personnel. The committee said:

The problem of juvenile correction is, in our opinion, sufficiently important to warrant payment of a salary commensurate with the duties and responsibilities incident to a position involving the welfare of youths.

The committee's recommendations only echoed the hope of the Authority director for a separate mental hospital for youthful psychopaths, the completion of California Vocational Institution, facilities for segregation of incorrigibles and serious offenders, better personnel practices and salaries.

The younger girls committed by the courts to the Authority are sent to the Los Guilucos School, near Santa Rosa in the north, a training facility for one hundred and twenty girls, sixteen years and under, who are received only on court commitment to the Authority. The program is designed to meet the individual needs of the girls. The activity, program, and achievement of each is evaluated weekly or bi-weekly. The school program consists of academic classes and of work activity, including some vocational and prevocational training, with special training in the domestic arts and with participation in the ranch activities. The average length of the stay is one year, with the time of release dependent on the girl's adjustment.

Ventura School for Girls now accommodates one hundred and eighty older girls from fifteen to eighteen, none of whom is a first offender. Six cottages, which the girls care for as part of their training in homemaking skills, offer the chief vocational work. Academic work is given by accredited high-school teachers, and girls receive high-school credit for work done.

At the time of its transfer to the Youth Authority in 1943, Ventura also was in poor condition due to a critical shortage of personnel, too wide an age range (ten to twenty-one years), and a program of insufficient activity. After three years, improvements have been seen, particularly in regard to reorganization of the staff, gradual repair of the plant itself, and the addition of a psychologist to the staff. A better salary scale, the gradual increase in availability of both materials and personnel, and the establishment of Los Guilucos have released some of the pressures on the school, which plans its program in an effort to rebuild personal integrity, self-respect, and self-confidence. Ten per cent of the school population in 1943 were psychopathic delinquents, and 60 per cent were venereally infected.

All the schools provide for medical examination and treatment and for early psychological testing and orientation of the new entrant. All the schools have spacious grounds; most have some elements of "ranching," the activities of which are worked into the educational and group-activity programs. Provision is made for both indoor and outdoor recreation. Educational academic programs are planned in relation to the state and local education systems.

Forestry camps occupy an important place in the treatment program. The first Youth Authority Camp was set up in

1943. This and subsequent camps were to care for older youths of greater trustworthiness and with less serious records than the average as well as to relieve congestion at Preston. Camps are designed to provide healthy outdoor living and teach good work habits and, through counseling and guidance, to prepare the boys to return to the community. The forestry camps are open camps conducted on contract with the State Division of Forestry, which makes payment directly to the Authority of three dollars a day per boy for work done by the boys. After camp expenses are deducted, the boys receive an allowance of fifty cents a day for personal use. They work on fire-suppression crews, state-park maintenance, camp construction, firetrails, and blister-rust control.

In June, 1943, the capacity and population of state correctional facilities for youth, exclusive of prisons, was 1,170 as against 1,885 Youth Authority wards resident in state institutions, December 31, 1946. Of these on the latter date, 574 were in facilities of the Department of Corrections, 465 of whom were in the new medium security institution. The two schools and the camps that had been added had given additional capacity of approximately 340, or 29 per cent of the 1943 figure, making it possible to care for more than 1,311 youths in the Authority's facilities.²⁷ In the same period the median age of youths in correctional institutions had risen from fifteen and seven-tenths years in 1943 to seventeen and six-tenths on December 31, 1946. Statistical studies show that on the latter date 79.3 per cent had prior records; of these, however, nearly 55 per cent were records of delinquency without commitment. Between June, 1943, and Decem-

ber, 1946, juvenile court commitments had decreased from 84.4 per cent of the total to 77.8 per cent; superior court commitments increased from 15.6 per cent to 22.2 per cent. Offenders against property comprised 63.7 per cent of the total on December 31, 1946, as compared to 9.1 per cent sex offenders and 15 per cent violators of the Welfare and Institutions Code. Among girls, sex offenses were 36.3 per cent of all violations; the figure for the boys was 10.2 per cent.

The Division of Field Services provides the third step in treatment: assistance in the youth's readjustment into his local community and back into civilian life. It has been described as the demonstration of the interest of the Youth Authority in all California youth.²⁸ Acting in accordance with its philosophy that despite the advantages of a state-wide youth correctional system the individual delinquent is a problem of his own community, the Authority has worked to build up close co-operation with the local community in order to bring about the rehabilitation of the individual and to correct the conditions that led to his disregard of law and of accepted behavior standards. This activity is carried on by the Division of Field Services through its sections of parole, probation, and delinquency prevention. Full use is made of the district offices of the Authority that the staff members may be in close contact with the area in which they serve.

The Parole Section is headed by an assistant chief in charge of parole. When the correctional schools were transferred to the Authority, the parole officers were attached to the schools, working under the superintendent. Between 1943 and

²⁷ This figure varies in relation to the number and capacity of forestry camps active at a given time.

²⁸ Roy C. Votaw, "Field Services of the California Youth Authority" (*California Conference of Social Welfare, April, 1946*).

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1945, the system was reorganized. The period of placement supervision was recognized as a testing period and a gradual readjustment to community living by which the previous training stands or falls. The parole officer must have time and skill and be available to offer understanding help and support. He was, therefore, attached to the Authority rather than to the school. The parole officer whose function is placement and supervision works from the district office. He is expected to know the local community and to participate in the work of community councils. He works with the school placement officer, who is responsible for the youth's pre-release training, in plans for his return to his community. This plan, covering arrangements for living accommodations, adequate school or work program, and recommendations for needed special medical or psychiatric care, is presented to the Authority members who make the final decision. When the youth is placed on parole, the parole officer gives individual case-work service. His aim is at relating the youth's correctional training to his placement plan. That involves work with the community as well as with the individual. The officer makes periodic reports of the youth's progress to the Authority; if behavior is satisfactory, the youth is discharged when there is evidence of his ability to carry on alone; if behavior is unsatisfactory, he may be returned for further training.

The optimum case load for each officer is supposed to be 80 and never more than 100. The staff has steadily increased in numbers and improved in quality. Well-qualified case workers have become more available and are employed where possible. There were, in March, 1947, forty parole officers, including four supervisory officers.

In April, 1946, there were approximately 2,900 parolees, between the ages of ten and twenty-five. Of the 944 youths discharged from parole in 1946, 638, or 67.5 per cent, were discharged prior to the expiration of the terms. Average length of time on parole was 22.3 months; the median age was twenty. Of the group, only 9.13 per cent were under seventeen at the time of discharge. The group of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old youths averaged only 12.3 months on parole. This shorter period is partially explained by the shorter parole period given youths who are returned to their homes in other states.

The Probation Section, transferred from the Department of Social Welfare to the Youth Authority in 1943, is charged to investigate and report on juvenile and adult probation throughout the state; but it has no authority in this field, since probation is a county function. California has fifty-eight counties, ranging in population from 1,000 to 3,500,000; and great variation in standards and practice would be expected. The Probation Section offers consultation to the probation officers, to judges, and to probation committees. Working with the personnel in individual counties as well as with the California Probation and Parole Officers Association, it assists with the development of professional standards and in working toward co-ordination and uniform procedures. It works with hiring authorities and through in-service training toward the raising of personnel standards. It participates with the delinquency-prevention section in community studies and education programs. A bulletin, *Probation News*, carrying articles on developments within the correction field is published monthly.

Delinquency prevention, emphasized as a part of the program since its begin-

ning, was strengthened in 1943. The Delinquency Prevention Section may give assistance to counties, cities, and local communities that are establishing or strengthening any type of child and youth service. This responsibility is accepted in the belief that prevention of delinquency requires many constructive programs and positive approaches to the problem.

The section's staff includes a supervisor and consultants. The section has been active in making county surveys of youth-serving agencies. This is done only on request of a county board of supervisors. Twenty such surveys were made prior to April, 1946, with other state departments and social agencies assisting. Oral reports are made to the board of supervisors and are later confirmed in writing.

Consultation service is offered in the planning and construction of detention homes, juvenile halls, and camps. Although the law provides for compulsory consultation in regard to certain homes or camps, the Authority *may* counsel on the construction of juvenile halls or detention homes controlled by Probation Departments.²⁹ The consultant in community recreation assists in local problems that may range from how to establish a youth center to the information on how to form a recreational district.

The consultant in juvenile control advises with police and sheriffs' offices on record-keeping, the best practice in dealing with juveniles, and in regard to the establishment of juvenile or special-service bureaus. He assists in such conferences as those of the Law Enforcement

²⁹ *Opinions of the Attorney-General*, 211. One field representative spends full time advising on plans for new buildings and encouragement of a better program. Of eighteen counties building new detention homes in 1945, fifteen used the service.

Officers on Juvenile Control, held in 1944, and of the Conference on Childhood and Youth, held annually in Los Angeles. Conferences by youth themselves have been held, with more than three thousand in attendance. Consultation is offered in the interests of "Teen Centers." A booklet describing the more successful centers has been published. Youths themselves publish a *Teen News* occasionally to share ideas. For four years the section has participated in sectional conferences or workshops, along with sixteen other state organizations and agencies. These workshops have met on campuses of colleges and universities from San Diego in the south to Chico in the north, with teachers, social workers, parents, and others meeting in the interest of delinquency control and youth protection. They have been described as "grass roots meetings where boys and girls participate along with adults." In the summer of 1946 there were seven of these workshops of from two days to a week on "Training for Community Responsibility and Leadership for Youth."

The Delinquency Prevention Section has been active in planning for the Institute for Delinquency Control—a full-time sixteen weeks' course on university-graduate level for the training of juvenile peace officers. Part of the program for improvement of personnel standards, the course in 1946 was planned by professors, judges, peace officers, and social workers. There are funds for thirty scholarships for twenty-five peace officers, police or deputy sheriffs, and five others to be selected from parole, probation, district attorneys' offices, or from social workers in other agencies. Courses are to be offered for a period of three years.

Two other divisions of the Authority not concerned with treatment are the accounting section and the personnel sec-

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tion. The accounting section maintains centralized records for the divisions and facilities of the Authority, subject to the state system of centralized control by the Department of Finance. By the terms of the act the Authority is limited in its expenditures to funds specifically made available for its use; in its management of the correctional schools it is enjoined against incurring indebtedness in excess of money appropriated or made available for the use of such schools. In the 1945-47 biennium more than \$5,000,000, exclusive of the postwar building program, was appropriated by the legislature—in marked contrast to the \$100,000 provided for the 1941-43 biennium. There was also in 1945 a share of the cost of the care of youths and juveniles collected from the counties from which they were committed, a sum which in the year 1945 amounted to approximately \$250,000.³⁰ A similar amount collected from the United States Army for earnings of the boys in the work camps supported those camps and provided the payment of allowances to the boys. The accounting office is also responsible for holding and accounting for funds held in trust for wards of the Authority. These have averaged \$50,000 in bank accounts and \$20,000 in bonds.

All personnel matters within the Authority clear through the Personnel Section. Job classifications and salary scales³¹ have been set up for all positions

³⁰ The 1947 legislature rescinded this action with regard to youths and limited the payments made by the counties in behalf of juveniles (cf. *California Statutes*, 1947, chap. 190).

³¹ Salaries, set and adjusted by the State Personnel Board, according to a minutely differentiated classification and salary system, have a wide range, with opportunity for increases within each classification. Those for division and professional service chiefs, such as a chief psychiatrist or clinical psychologist and for institution superintendents, range from approximately \$5,500 to \$8,400 annually.

except that of director and of assistant to the director, in accordance with the State Civil Service Act and the rulings of the State Personnel Board. The method of appointment and remuneration of the director are set by the act.

During the war years the Authority was faced with the difficulties inherent in inadequate and insufficient personnel and facilities for treatment. Some of these problems were met on a temporary basis, as in the work camps established in co-operation with the Army and as in the appointment of temporary personnel. However, during this time, goals for the postwar period were formulated. The goals of a postwar building program were set up to include two diagnostic receiving centers, three schools for boys under fifteen, and two schools for girls. The Authority looked forward to the use of the Preston School of Industry for boys from fifteen to eighteen only, to the establishment of five forestry camps to accommodate from seventy to one hundred older boys each, and to the right to place older, more difficult youths in the new medium security institution of the Department of Corrections. Less than two years after the close of the war most of this program had been accomplished, and the remainder is under way. Funds are available for all. Sites are being selected and plans for the construction made for the diagnostic receiving centers; a site for the third school for boys under fifteen is selected, and plans for the building are in the making. "All the latest and most

In some instances, a part of the institution superintendent's salary is in the form of maintenance for himself and his family. The present general salary range is a recent and long-advocated improvement, as the low salaries have made it difficult to procure and retain qualified personnel. The unavailability of persons with certain specialized skills has meant that some positions are still unfilled. The 1944 fiscal-year budget made provision for five hundred and eighty-eight employees for the Authority.

modern thinking will go into planning this new institution, to be limited to 200 to 300 boys to develop a careful and intensive program of training." Fricot and Guilcos are being enlarged, the use of war surplus providing some of the materials. Ventura, long in need of renovation, is being surveyed in preparation for additions and repairs to the plant.

In the early months of 1947 the camp program began to take on the aspects of permanency. The four camps then in existence were permanent forestry-type camps. Preservice training for permanent camp superintendents was being conducted by the Division of Training and Treatment; the camp superintendents were being assigned from the regular civil service lists.

The problem of proper care and treatment of psychopathic juveniles or youths has long been urgent. Although a few years ago the Department of Institutions was authorized to build a special institution for them, no money was appropriated. This lack was still felt in 1946, as the presence of these youths in the correctional schools was very disturbing. The committee investigating the Preston School of Industry in the summer and fall of 1946, however, only recommended that the Authority urge the establishment of such an institution to care for this type of youth.

The large body of information collected by the Authority regarding effective community programs in crime control, recreation, probation methods, and other youth services is available to communities for preventive program planning. The Authority hopes to evaluate, through the study of the youths committed to it, those factors that contribute to delinquency and to pass the evaluation on to the communities.

The California Youth Authority is

barely six years old; it has only four years of real activity behind it. It is, therefore, early to make a true evaluation of its function and activity in the state.

In 1942 the criticism was made that everything the Authority had then been able to do could have been done by some agency already in existence. The reply was that the criticism was perhaps true but that "no existing agency [had] even tried to do what the Authority had done to date." In the summer of 1943 delinquency in the state was at a new high, and the Authority had accepted only 201 boys. Among those best qualified to understand the problem there was active and enthusiastic discussion and acceptance of its function, with approval of the aims and plans. It was described as a "break in the clouds which overcast the juvenile delinquency problem."

As an experiment in correction methods with youth, there has been great interest in the California Authority. The program is still in the formative stages; the fact that it has been given a relatively free hand to develop has been to the advantage of the program; the willingness of the state to supply the facilities requested has made it possible to approach more quickly a time when emphasis could be placed on program rather than on expansion.

The California Youth Committee, selected to act in an advisory capacity to state departments dealing with youth, has, through its chairman, listed the Authority's accomplishments and appraised its value, largely in terms of its activities in the preventive field as follows:

1. Leadership and guidance have been given in the total protective field for youth in each community through its studies and surveys.
2. Consultation to detention homes, recreation

- groups, juvenile bureaus, has been available.
3. Training has been made available through its workshops and through its initiative, along with the Departments of Justice, in the establishment of the Juvenile Control Institute.
 4. Valuable factual information has been collected through its central delinquency file.
 5. It has published examples of successful preventive projects in the state.
 6. It has assisted in raising standards of professional service. Making these and its activities in the treatment field possible is the fact that the Authority is "young and fluid, it has no vested interests, and is not rutted in routine."

Adverse criticism in print is difficult to find, either from within or from without the state. The recent investigation and scandal at Preston brought forth some criticism of methods and questions regarding the ability of the Authority. The question was raised

whether ignorance and callousness of the past shall dominate the institutional mind or a modern idea of going after results, even if it means mental surgery and . . . work. . . . It is extremely unlikely that [the director's] character would be damaged in any way [by an investigation], but character is one thing and sociological skill is another.³²

In a review of the progress of the program of the Authority, it is evident that the members believe in its possibilities. Its power and jurisdiction is broad, and there are those who may still question the advisability of such wide powers being placed in the hands of one agency.

³² Editorial, *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 26, 1946.

Countering this is the centralized effort it is possible to make toward a goal. Like any organization it is dependent upon its personnel and the integrity of the members of the Authority. It has been and continues to be difficult to get and to keep enough of the former; in the latter the state is singularly fortunate.

The program of the California Youth Authority began in the winter of 1942. The first two years were devoted to a small experimental diagnostic clinic and to study and preparation for a more aggressive program when funds were available. Since 1943, when the correction schools were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Authority, it has functioned in its treatment of youthful offenders through a diagnostic clinic, a steadily increasing number and variety of treatment facilities, a state-centralized after-care or youth-parole system, and a delinquency-prevention program which has included consultation service for judges, probation officers, police details, for recreation activities and detention facilities; workshops and training for those interested in delinquency control. The Authority is committed to the consideration of the individual:

The offender knows he is being treated as an individual and not as a number and that upon the record he makes in the institution rather than on what brought him there, his length of stay will depend. . . . We are interested in building souls, not cells in California.³³

GLENDAL, CALIFORNIA

³³ McKesson, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

CASE-WORK PRINCIPLES FOR GUIDING THE WORKER IN CONTACTS OF SHORT DURATION

FERN LOWRY

CONSIDERABLE attention has been given to the problems confronting the case worker, who, because of the nature of the problem with which he is dealing and the function of the agency within which he operates, must necessarily give service to the person seeking assistance within a limited amount of time. It is not my intention to discuss these problems but, rather, only to identify them as a background for the discussion of certain theoretical principles of social case work which the case worker can use for guidance in meeting them. The major problems thus confronting the worker seem to me to be the following ones:

1. The rapidity with which relationship between the case worker and the person seeking assistance must be established. It is recognized that, while some kind of relationship is established within the first contact in any case-work situation, nevertheless in those situations in which the duration of contact is potentially a lengthy one there is opportunity for bringing about a later change in the quality of the relationship thus initially established; whereas in contacts of short duration it is imperative that the quality of relationship originally established be a positive one.

2. The rapidity with which the case worker must determine the nature of the problem, together with the person's potential strengths and resources for meeting it. There is neither time nor opportunity for a leisurely exploration of what is the matter or what the person

can do about it. Both must be established "on the spot."

3. The rapidity with which the case worker must ascertain whether the necessary help can be given through this agency, and, if so, what kind of help is needed. This problem confronts every case worker in any agency within the first interview; but if the first interview may be the only one, it becomes heightened in importance.

4. The rapidity with which the case worker must explore the relation of the presented, or initial, request to the underlying causative factors which have precipitated it and to the problem as a whole. Often the specific request represents only the periphery of the problem. When the length of contact is necessarily of short duration, it becomes of utmost importance that the case worker be able to establish the relationship of this peripheral request to the central core of need as soon as possible.

5. The emotional pressures which afflict both the person seeking assistance and the case worker because of awareness that there are time limitations. Folk who are in a hurry are subject to feelings of pressure which influence their responses to each other.

6. The lack of opportunity to use "clinical observation" as a basis for direction and decision. In long-time contacts it is possible to "learn" from experience, from observed reaction, and from results achieved. In contacts of short duration the case worker is deprived of this opportunity.

7. In line with the preceding point it should be recognized that the case worker, who needs must operate within time-restricted boundaries, lacks the opportunity for the kind of professional security which is derived from the experience of seeing things working out over a period of time. In contacts of long duration one has an opportunity to remedy one's mistakes. In contacts of short duration one's mistakes are often final.

8. The case worker is also under pressure to initiate helping efforts almost immediately. This may be through the offering of direct services, through referral to other more appropriate community resources, or through helping the person to appraise realistically his own resources for meeting his needs. In any event, the case worker must reach a decision rapidly.

9. The person seeking assistance is also under pressure, inasmuch as he has little time within which to demonstrate his adequacy. He comes to the case worker at a point when his adequacy to handle his own situation has temporarily broken down in at least one area of his life. Because of the shortness of duration of his contact with the case worker, he is deprived of the opportunity to demonstrate his adequacy in other areas of his life.

10. There is an over-all atmosphere which affects both the case worker and the person seeking help which is that of emergency or climax. Something has to be done soon, and both persons are reacting to the urgency of the situation. Psychologically this imposes pressures which are difficult to withstand.

So much for the brief identification of some of the problems which confront the case worker in contacts of short duration. Now what about the social case-work principles upon which she may de-

pend for guidance in meeting them? It is impossible to give a thorough exposition of these principles as yet because we are still in the process of identifying and formulating them. In the discussion to follow, much that is presented consists only of clues which the worker can use in guiding her helping activities; nevertheless, it seems worth while to note them.

1. Since the relationship between the case worker and the applicant must be established rapidly and since the strength of the relationship may determine very early whether the worker can hold him in contact long enough to be of help to him, the worker must be sensitive from the very beginning to clues which will enable her to evaluate his capacity for establishing and using a relationship to her. Keen observation and adequate interpretation of his initial responses to the worker, evidences of his responsiveness or withdrawal during the initial contact, and the quality of his reactions to asking for, or acceptance of, help will give the worker one set of clues helpful in making such an evaluation. Another set of clues is to be found within what the worker can learn of his past relationships with people, because the extent to which he can enter into a case-work relationship will be determined in part by the residuals he carries over from past experiences. Often the direction of early helping activities will be determined in large part by the fact that we have recognized that we are dealing with a person whose capacity for relationship has been impaired as a result of long experience in faulty relationships with others. Likewise, it is important to establish early the meaning of overresponsiveness and to establish whether this is due to the release of anxiety accompanying the fact that he has found someone to

help him or whether it is the prelude to wanting the worker to take over his problem through a dependent relationship.

2. Another important area of evaluation for the worker concerns the extent to which she is able to secure factual data in the interview which will bring out the extent of diversion between fact and feeling as it is expressed while the person is presenting his request. If the person's factual story and the feelings he expresses about his situation seem consistent in relation to his reality situation (if, in other words, his "mind" and his "will" seem unified, in that he can see his situation realistically and at the same time is able to do something about it), the worker will have a diagnostic basis for assuming that they can probably work out and carry through a plan together. If, on the other hand, there is absence of such consistency or unity, the worker knows that she must proceed carefully and that the potentialities for giving constructive help may be limited. The same can be said of the values for the worker in exploring the extent of the person's orientation to the reality situation that he is actually facing. It is important to secure information rapidly which will clarify this because there is not time for slowly working through with the person the fact that he is not facing the implications of his situation realistically. Furthermore, as long as the person is not grasping the meaning of his problem but is camouflaging it with rationalizations, it will be impossible to get together on a plan for meeting it. In line with this point it is also imperative that the worker be alert to and able to interpret the meaning of illogical behavior. When a person is saying one thing and doing another, the worker may have to be active in clarifying this with

him. Or when his present behavior and situation seem inconsistent with what he is saying about his past situations, the worker will know that she needs to explore further before she can be sure that the present problem has really been clearly defined.

3. Often, when a person is faced with the urgency of a present need, he is impatient with the requests for information about his past life-experience. Sometimes the present need *is* so urgent, it is so clearly defined, and the person is so truly upset about it that the worker would do well to avoid imposing the additional psychological strain of too much exploration into the past. However, there are many instances in which the worker should not yield to this urgency, because the present cannot be clearly understood except in the light of the past. Knowledge of how a person has handled his experiences in the past is much too valuable a clue to what we may anticipate to be his potential strengths for dealing with the present to sacrifice it to the psychological pressures inherent in contacts of short duration. Naturally, we cannot, and need not, attempt to elicit such full information as we might wish in a clinical social history. Nevertheless, exploration of those areas of the person's past experience which have tangential significance to his present may be imperative to a sound understanding of how we can best help him or if we can help at all. Information concerning social stability, experience within the family group, job-experience, economic management, chronicity of seeking assistance, and the influence of past experiences upon his present sense of personal adequacy can be secured rapidly and may give the worker very impor-

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tant clues to the quick evaluation of the present situation.

In relation to this point, it might be well to note that in understanding the relation of present to past we should always bear in mind that the requests for assistance which come to us, even though sometimes seeming to have been precipitated by an immediate crisis situation, are not always precipitated by forces deriving wholly from the present. Sometimes it is true that they are; but at other times they may occur as a result of slowly accumulating pressures, and the fact that they are made today does not mean that we can understand them merely by clarifying what has happened today. In directing her interview, the case worker can nearly always profit by keeping in mind the simple question, "Why did this happen today instead of a year ago or a year from now?" In pursuing the answer to this question with the applicant, she may be able to establish factors in the immediate situation only, whether it came about as a result of accumulated factors and the immediate situation is only "the straw that broke the camel's back," or whether it is really a manifestation of "chronic crisis" and is really not a new experience for the person at all. If this differentiation can be made by the worker early in contact, she has a more sound understanding as a basis for planning with the person the most effective means of meeting his needs. In other words, it is helpful for us to know in planning with the person something of the length of duration of the patterns of behavior implicit in the nature of his present need for help.

4. One simple principle which it would seem trite to mention here except that it is so frequently ignored is that of the importance of learning how the person has managed in the past. It is true that,

when he makes his request for assistance, he is struggling with a situation with which he is temporarily inadequate to cope. However, except in instances when the person is seriously emotionally disturbed or actually psychotic, this does not mean that he is or has been unable to manage his total situation. In other words, he does not come in a state of total collapse but rather he comes because, for the time being, he is unable to manage one aspect of his life or to meet on his own one set of needs. This has significance for the worker, in that if she can help him to conserve the sense of adequacy in other aspects of his life, it may offset his reactions to this temporary, partial inadequacy and stimulate him in the mobilization of his unimpaired strengths for meeting his immediate problem. It may also make the experience of accepting help less painful and result in more emotional freedom for using his energies in planning with the worker. The simple question "How have you been managing up to now?" may serve to direct the conversation into very fertile channels of understanding for both the worker and the applicant himself.

5. In line with the foregoing discussion, there is another simple principle which is too often overlooked, particularly by the worker who is under pressure of limited time. Psychologically, there is a quite natural urge to "get going" right away and a consequent impulse to feel that, because the worker, through the channels professionally available to her, can get things done faster than the less professionally privileged applicant, she "moves in," leaving him to sit passively by while she takes responsibility for activity. When he comes to the agency to ask for help, the applicant is in activity. He is really doing something about his situation in the very asking for assist-

ance. That activity the worker should be careful to preserve. From the standpoint of his own morale, as well as from the standpoint of the use of a sound mental hygiene principle, it is important that he be kept thinking and feeling that he is doing something for himself. The preservation of this feeling can be safeguarded if the worker remains aware that at every point where he can do something for himself he should be given responsibility for doing so.

6. Often case workers are troubled as to how to handle interviews with applicants who, because of the conflicts evidenced in their verbal statements or the lack of coherence in their story, raise questions in the worker's mind as to the factual validity of what they are saying. Their account of what has been happening to them seems like sheer fabrication. What to do? The case-worker's philosophy, emanating from an indoctrinated principle that one "goes along with the applicant" or that one "is accepting of the other person," comes into conflict with what her intelligence and common sense can accept. How does she come to terms with this conflict? Does she sacrifice her intellectual integrity to her case-work principle by never questioning the validity of the story? Or does she place upon the sacrificial altar her cherished case-work principle and strike out to defend her right not to be considered so lacking in intelligence that she believes everything? This constitutes a real problem, particularly in case-work practice in which the shortness of the duration of contact precludes the opportunity to get to the point where the applicant no longer needs to hide behind the false front of fabrication and can come to the point of trusting the case worker sufficiently to reveal the true situation. This being

true, it would seem that the case worker in such situations must, more often than in any other case-work situation, take the painful responsibility of a direct approach through questioning the validity of statements so made. This action can be justified on the basis that the worker has nothing to lose and everything to gain. At worst, the applicant may be offended and withdraw from contact. In that event nothing has been lost because truly constructive help could not have been given on the basis of a diagnosis established upon falsified information. At best, the worker may gain the confidence of the applicant because she has shown that she has not been "taken in" by the story but that, although she rejects the story, she does not reject the person who tells it, is eager to be of help to him, but cannot be unless they can plan in relation to the real situation. There is also the problem that it may be of dubious help to the person so presenting a fabricated story in allowing him either to go away, later to be submerged in guilty feelings because he has secured help under false circumstances, or to go away in gleeful anticipation of continuing to fleece social agencies because social workers are "dumb." In either event he gains nothing constructive from his agency contact.

7. One final point, the relation of the immediate assistance given through the worker to a total plan which is really rehabilitative in nature. We should not be human were we not subject, in instances where we are to have responsibility in relation to another person for only a short time and where we are under the pressures which accompany such situations, if we did not sometimes yield to the impulse to take care of the immediate situation and then "pass along" the responsibility to the next one in line of

duty. When we are tired and tense, it is often easier to give assistance just to meet the emergency and relieve the person from his current pressures than to look to see what sense this makes in relation to a long-duration plan for the person involved. Therefore, this simple principle seems of importance in guiding the case worker in situations in which she is exposed to such pressures. Any sort of assistance given to the person coming for help can be of maximum effectiveness only if it is related not only to an understanding of the problem as a whole but also to a plan which is rehabilitative. In other words, help given within contacts of short duration should not

mean that the help is of short duration also.

In summary, short duration of contact between the case worker and the person asking assistance does not necessarily impose lack of opportunity for giving sound case-work services. Rather it heightens and intensifies the need for such service and the opportunity to develop skills in giving it. The problems inherent in practice in an agency setting in which contacts are of short duration present both a challenge and an opportunity for professional gratification to the worker. There is no area of case-work practice in which greater demands are made upon the skills of the case worker.

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

THE UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND

THE designation "U.N.I.C.E.F." is now widely known in Europe. The United Nations Appeal for Children, which was postponed after being announced for an earlier date, is now well under way. Maurice Pate, executive director of U.N.I.C.E.F., has tried in a recent *U.N. Bulletin* to answer the questions: "What is actually being done with funds now available? How many are being fed and where? Does the food reach the children quickly? How efficiently is it stored, distributed, and accounted for? because every contributor to the Appeal for Children is entitled to answers to these practical questions.

The Appeal must be supported because children are hungry. But Mr. Pate also emphasizes the further point that

the containers carrying the United Nations emblem which have now become familiar in even remote European villages hold more than milk. They stand for the United Nations and the principle of international co-operation, and they are being most gratefully received everywhere. In all receiving countries, from the highest government circles to the smallest distributing point, the greatest conscientiousness and devotion are evident in all who have any part in this undertaking.

Here is the United Nations in action, and it has the allegiance of men and women of all classes, all nationalities, all religions, and all political ideologies. Feeding the children is one thing they can get together on, and they are doing so in a way that leaves no room for cynicism or doubt. There is real hope in this practical demonstration of what the United Nations can do towards bettering the daily lives of the people it was set up to serve. . . .

Any fears that supplies sent in by the Fund might be misused have proved baseless. Instead, it has become a matter of highest national pride that the basic agreements between

UNICEF and the governments of the assisted countries must be faithfully fulfilled down to the smallest book-keeping entry.

Typical of the attitude of all the recipient countries is that shown in the instructions the Bulgarian Government has issued to all its nationals participating in the program. Failure to carry out any part of these instructions, the official document states, might "reflect upon the reputation of our country before the United Nations."

Relief goods are carefully and securely stored, and their use is accounted for with complete thoroughness. Pilferage, which to some extent took place in the chaotic period immediately after the war, does not exist at all for UNICEF supplies. Everywhere the greatest effort is made to get the supplies to where they are most needed.

For instance, in Rumania, while officials and welfare workers were setting up 400 milk stations in Bucharest, other workers pushed out into famine-struck regions like Moldavia over primitive roads knee-deep in mud. Six oxen slowly pull a wagon-load of powdered skim milk for distances up to 40 miles, with instructors plowing through the same mud to show volunteer workers in the villages how to prepare and serve UNICEF supplies.

Tens of thousands of persons—government officials; teachers, doctors, and nurses; the clergy, village priests and ministers; trade unionists; and citizens' groups of all kinds—are involved in getting this food to the children.

Women of all categories work side by side, those who belonged to the pre-war aristocracy along with the wives of laborers. There is no distinction in their devotion, and they make no distinction among the children, meeting as best they can the needs without regard to race, nationality, religion, or the political affiliations of the parents.

However, there is, according to Mr. Pate, "*a tragic form of discrimination unfortunately made inevitable in all countries where the program is operating*. There is simply not enough food to go around, so there must be

some basis of selection. Need is the basis of discrimination and need only, but it is a hard standard to apply when so many children are hungry."

Future plans, of course, depend on the further contributions that may be received and on how much is raised through the United Nations Appeal for Children now getting under way throughout the world. Here in the United States the appeal, which is being made jointly with American Overseas Aid in a campaign for \$60,000,000, will mean only \$21,000,000 for the Children's Fund, the remainder going to twenty-five other participating agencies administering relief overseas.

With more funds available, U.N.I.C.E.F. will work toward the following objectives:

To feed more children. U.N.I.C.E.F. is now reaching only a fraction of the children in great need even in the countries where it is operating.

To check the spread of tuberculosis among the children and save those not yet infected. More than two out of every three children in Europe today are infected to some degree and, being in such poor physical condition, they are easy prey.

To eradicate venereal disease among the newborn. Venereal disease has greatly increased among the population generally, as a result of the sweep of armies back and forth over Europe and the great mass migration. Tens of thousands of children are being born of infected mothers. By the use of penicillin, the mother can be cured before the baby's birth. . . .

To train badly needed child-health and child-welfare workers to deal with the terrible problems left by the war, particularly as far as the millions of orphans and half-orphans are concerned. Various countries are now exploring the possibilities of providing, or obtaining, such training, but again, the work must wait.

The needs of children, though, do not wait, and while we delay in getting help they go hungry. They lie sick in bed with tuberculosis and other diseases that come from being hungry. And, while we decide how much we can afford to give, and on what terms it will be given, many of these children die. We have still to take into account the incalculable cost of what this neglect means in terms of boys and girls, grown up before their time, but with the thwarted and

discouraged outlook of those who have had the kind of childhood that has fallen to their lot. . . .

The Children's Fund is the means through which part of that great responsibility can be met, and the support it receives will be a measure of the devotion of men and women, and of nations, to the United Nations itself and the humane principles for which it stands.

THE ROLE OF A JUVENILE COURT IN 1948

JUDGE JUSTINE WISE POLIER of the New York Domestic Relations Court spoke some important and helpful truths about the "Juvenile Court in 1948"¹ when she delivered an address recently at a meeting of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society. Judge Polier said, for example, that "political influence in the selection, and lack of community interest in the calibre or qualifications, of men considered for judicial office are depriving the community of the benefits originally anticipated from Children's Courts."

"Too often," she said, "we find arrogance and self-righteousness, the need for preaching at people rather than helping them, the olympic wrath against the wrongdoer rather than human understanding, impatience with the troubles of the many anonymous 'little' people who come before the Court, rather than appreciation of the full possibilities of patient listening and earnest inquiry as to how their troubles or problems may be resolved.

"The community cannot afford to have judges presiding over the Children's Court, even if they are good lawyers and honorable men, who do not think in terms of the problems of children before them, who do not study and understand how to use the knowledge or skills developed by different sciences, and who do not care enough to make the Court become the dynamic center for securing better services for all our children."

Responsibilities were also placed squarely on the shoulders of the community by Judge Polier, who said that the community must

¹ From a report in *Homelife for Children*, vol. XXXV, spring, 1948.

"first provide the tools without which no Judge can perform his duties and second it must face and correct those basic conditions reflected in the lives of children who come before the Court that are so closely related to the maladjustment and delinquency with which the Court must deal." And she said further:

"To begin with, the Court must have a staff competent and able to provide the correct diagnosis of a child and the recommendations for sound treatment. This means staff. Staff must include the employment or availability of teams comprising the special skills of medicine, psychology and psychiatry for diagnosis and treatment when indicated.

"In a very real sense, however, there is another part of the Court which must be strengthened if the Court is to be an effective social instrument. Adequate service facilities must be available to the Court. There is little value in having the best of all possible Judges and an excellent staff of social workers if when they have studied the problems of a child and received expert advice on what help or treatment is needed, such help is non-existent."

Judge Polier also spoke of the economic and emotional insecurity of neglected and delinquent children and said: "In a study of 541 such children that I made some years ago, over 70 per cent came from families dependent on some form of public assistance or without any ascertainable source of income at the time of Court appearance. Of this same group a large majority came from homes which were also emotionally impoverished through the absence by death, desertion, separation or illness of one or both parents. Only 135 children, or less than 25 per cent, were living at home with both parents. A majority of the children are boys and most frequently the absent parent is the father."

With regard to the schools she said, "School can be a place in which good social relationship with other children, satisfactory relationships with adults, happy learning experiences, and wholesome play can

provide opportunities for healthy development and growth. This kind of school should be available to all our children. It is absolutely essential for those who are suffering from home deprivations.

"Our school systems are slow to embark upon a program which could become one of the main factors in preventing delinquency through the early recognition of children's problems and the provision of sustaining help when and as long as it is needed. Instead, rigid curriculums, demands for conformity of achievements, a punitive approach to misconduct, unawareness of the burdens that children are carrying, and lack of good adult-child relationships too often characterize our handling of children, none of whose needs is met through such 'schooling.'"

In conclusion, Judge Polier emphasized that "the Children's Court, to fulfill its role, must from its experience based on the problems of children in the community present both the problems and unmet needs to the community and galvanize those who are concerned with the welfare of our children to far more effective action on their behalf."

JUVENILE-COURT LEGISLATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

A USEFUL collection of material on juvenile-court laws in other parts of the world has recently been made available by the United States Children's Bureau.¹ Although this is a mimeographed report, it is very easy to read and should be useful for reference purposes. The juvenile court, of course, belongs to the twentieth century, and it is well known that the first juvenile-court law in the world was passed by the state of Illinois in 1899. While the juvenile courts have not yet fulfilled the high hopes of those who first worked for this legislation and although there are many improvements still to be made in juvenile-court legislation

¹ *Legislation on Juvenile Courts in Foreign Countries*. By Anna Kalet Smith. Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau, 1947. Pp. 70. (Mimeographed.)

and practice, this will always be looked on as one of the important reforms of the period.

The Illinois juvenile court was soon the basis for legislation in other states and in other countries; England, in 1908, provided for children's courts. Other countries in Europe soon followed, and other continents also began to provide courts for hearing children's cases. The Children's Bureau report shows that in the Scandinavian countries "there are no juvenile courts proper, but the cases of young offenders are often referred by the regular courts to specified child-welfare agencies which give them the individual attention intended under the juvenile court laws." The Soviet Union had commissions on children for some time, but they seem to have been abolished in 1935. Since that time "jurisdiction in cases of juvenile delinquency has been transferred to the regular courts, or to separate sections of such courts, and efforts have been made to adapt the procedure to the needs of children and youth." At the present time, the report shows that juvenile-court legislation or some similar procedure is in force nearly everywhere in Europe, with the possible exception of Albania and Iceland. No information seems to be available for these two countries. The present report summarizes the laws for the following European countries: Austria, the Baltic States, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Yugoslavia.

Argentina was the first state in South America to introduce a special procedure for dealing with young offenders, when a law of 1919 applied to the capital, Buenos Aires, and to the National Territories; since then juvenile-court laws have been enacted in some of Argentina's provinces and in at least eleven of the other twenty American republics in Central America and the West Indies, as well as in South America. Juvenile-court laws are also in operation in the British Dominions—Canada, Newfoundland,

Australia, and New Zealand—and in some British and French colonies and possessions and in other parts of Asia and Africa.

The report of the Children's Bureau says further that the juvenile-court laws in these widely separated parts of the world, although they have many differences, have several fundamental principles in common. In general the laws are based on the theory that "the young offender is a victim of circumstances," and he should be given "special protection and care such as is given to a child in need of attention for other reasons." The report notes that, for this reason, "familiarity with child-welfare problems is considered in many countries an essential qualification of a juvenile court judge."

In many countries juvenile courts are for neglected or dependent or homeless children and for those who present behavior problems without being offenders against the law, as well as for young offenders. There is always an age limit for the children who are brought before juvenile courts; it is sixteen years in some countries and eighteen years in others. Informal private hearings are the general rule in all countries, and persons not directly connected with a case are not allowed to attend the hearings except by special permission. Everywhere, the judge is expected to determine not whether the child has committed an offense but what can be done to help him. The juvenile-court laws, therefore, usually require an investigation of the child's history and his environment, and in some countries a mental and physical examination is also required.

That is, the judge must have regard for the child's welfare. He is not there to impose a penalty but to find ways and means of improving the child's general condition and opportunities for education. The various decisions as to the child's future are discussed in the reports for the different countries.

The report points out that "the humanitarian value of the juvenile courts is recognized throughout the world"; and in many countries work is going forward for the improvement and expansion of their work.

AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY OF CHILD WELFARE PROBLEMS

A RESOLUTION of the Economic and Social Council last March promised "a world survey of all aspects of child welfare." The *United Nations Bulletin* reports that the new survey will be patterned broadly after a similar survey by the League of Nations in 1937. The Secretariat will enlarge its work to include a study covering such questions as the child and the family, protection of mothers and infant children, preschool children, delinquency, mentally handicapped children, and the administrative organization of social welfare services. New problems of child welfare which have assumed importance in the last ten years, such as the situation of child war victims will also be included; and a special topic of the survey will be on the development of child welfare in countries not adequately equipped with social services.

The *Bulletin* reports that the Council's action in this field arose out of the report of the Social Commission, which recommended such a study as essential in a child welfare program. In approving this program, the Council's resolution called upon the Social Commission to give priority to child welfare questions. The further report of the *Bulletin* on the survey is as follows:

Once the Secretariat has completed its survey, it will then, according to the Social Commission's recommendation, suggest to the Commission the problems in the field which call for most urgent action.

Another part of this program on child welfare now approved by the Council is the continuation of the publication of the legislative series on child welfare. The League published a periodical series on legislation in member countries affecting the position of children, and this series was compiled in annual reports. This publication the Council decided to resume. In addition, governments reported annually to the League not only on their legislation, but on the administration of their child welfare services. The Council's resolution suggests that the Secretary-General may consider continuing these two kinds of reports in one document.

One specially urgent problem is that of war-displaced children. The Council instructed the Secretary-General to provide a specific report on this subject to the Social Commission. He is also to report on what the prospects are for action by the International Refugee Organization and to make recommendations for a final solution of the problem.

The Soviet representative in the Council, Professor A. A. Arutiunian, thought that it was totally inadequate to limit Council action on displaced children to a study of the problem. He proposed, therefore, that the Council should recommend to Member governments and to IRO "that urgent measures be taken to return to their homeland children left in foreign countries as a result of the war." This proposal, which was supported by Poland and the Byelorussian S.S.R., was defeated both in the Social Committee and the Council.

THE ROSENWALD FUND

SOCIAL workers will note with appreciation and regret that the Rosenwald Fund is to come to an end on June 30 of this year. As was well known, Mr. Rosenwald, whose generous and wise philanthropy made him a notable figure during the first third of the present century, did not believe in permanent or perpetual endowments. Each generation, he thought, was the best judge of its own needs and could be trusted to meet those needs. Funds should be used, he thought, "while ideas and enthusiasm were fresh." He therefore provided in his generous gift of \$22,000,000 that the money should be used and the fund closed within twenty-five years after his death. The fund therefore has expended principal as well as interest. The *New York Times* in commenting on the fact that the fund has actually been expended several years before the time required quotes the president of the fund as summarizing its "major efforts" as follows:

1. The building of 5,357 rural schools for Negroes in cooperation with Southern states and counties. Into this work the fund put \$5,000,000, which attracted almost equal amounts from Negroes and white friends and

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over \$20,000,000 in tax funds from the Southern communities.

2. Contributions totaling \$5,000,000 to Negro colleges, especially the four major university centers in Washington, Atlanta, Nashville and New Orleans.

3. Efforts to equalize health facilities, including \$2,000,000 for the development of health services for Negroes and \$1,500,000 for pay clinics and other facilities for persons of moderate means and the establishment of hospital insurance. The Blue Cross, now providing hospital insurance for 23,500,000 Americans, is a direct result of this effort.

4. Fellowships for the advanced training of 600 Negroes and 250 white southerners, involving total expenditures of \$2,000,000. Among notable Rosenwald fellows are Marian Anderson, Katherine Dunham, Langston Hughes, Percy Julian, Willard Motley, Sterling Brown, dozens of professors in Southern Negro colleges, and forty professors recently appointed to the "white" colleges and universities of the North, and such college presidents as Charles Johnson of Fisk, Mordecai Johnson of Howard and Horace Mann Bond of Lincoln. Among Southern white fellows are Lillian Smith, Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*; James Pope, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and dozens of professors and church and labor leaders.

5. The contribution of \$3,000,000 in the general field of race relations in an effort to bring full democracy and free participation by all groups in all phases of American life. These efforts were expressed through support to such agencies as the Commission of Interracial Cooperation, Southern Regional Council, American Council on Race Relations, Bureau of Intercultural Education, National Urban League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; also a vigorous program of education for equal opportunities through books and pamphlets.

6. The remaining \$4,000,000 has gone into general education and the support of general social agencies.

THE D.P.'S ARE STILL WAITING

THE next twelve months will probably be the year of decision for some five hundred thousand "displaced persons" in Germany, a foreign correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* reports from Heidelberg. But

officials of the international refugee organization are said to be looking "for two principal breaks in the D.P. logjam that so far has prevented any large-scale movement of peoples." One of these, they hope, may be the opening of a Jewish state in Palestine, although as we go to press the outlook for "partition" seems very dark. A last registration of persons wishing ultimately to reach



Herblock in the "Washington Post"

"NOW?"

the Middle East was reported to have begun last March in the camps of the American zone of Germany.

The second hope, of course, is that Congress will finally pass one of the bills authorizing immigration of some of the D.P.'s.

A third possibility is large-scale colonization of unsettled areas in South America. Some I.R.O. officials believe this to be the chief hope in the long run of solving the refugee problem but it is still only a hope. However, some six thousand persons are said to be moving every month to other countries from camps in the American zone of Germany. Each individual transfer is a victory in itself, but together they represent only a very small percentage of the total number. Health restrictions, shipping short-

ages, and an attitude that countries are buying muscle instead of citizens all have contributed to keep the movement figures low.

The *News* report is that eleven so-called "group re-establishment schemes" are in operation with some missions sent to choose settlers. However, there seem to have been many difficulties about health questions, and rejections are said to have run as high



"MAYBE WE'RE BETTER OFF HERE"

as 60 per cent. For example, if the immigration laws require proof that there has been no tuberculosis for five years, most of the D.P.'s, being refugees, have no records, or no access to them, and cannot meet the requirements. There are those rejected as "underweight" in spite of the fact that many have been living for years on little more than scraps. A matter of weeks on a normal diet would bring most of them up to par.

The *Review* has reported before on the progress—or lack of progress—of the Stratton bill, which would admit four hundred thousand D.P.'s over a four-year period. There have now been more than a score of such bills introduced, but comment should be made especially on the much less gener-

ous bill introduced in the Senate (S. 2242) by Senator Wiley of Wisconsin, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, entitled "The Displaced Persons Act of 1948." Earl Harrison, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, said in a press report that the more recent Wiley bill was an "unsatisfactory solution" and "insufficient."

The Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons has summarized some of the provisions which make the Wiley bill objectionable as follows:

1. The Wiley bill provides that fifty thousand displaced persons be admitted each year for two years. The bill is so worded that there can be no carry-over from the first year to the second if the full number does not come the first year. Since the first year starts on July 1, 1948, it will be extremely difficult and probably impossible to set the machinery in motion to obtain entrance for the full number, particularly in view of other provisions which make administration very difficult.

2. No displaced person may be considered eligible unless he is assured in advance of arrival of suitable employment and decent housing which will not displace anyone else from a job or a home. There is no doubt that adequate housing and job opportunities exist for displaced persons. But to insist that an individual three thousand miles away can be employed and housed "sight unseen" is, again, extremely difficult.

3. Another objectionable provision of the Wiley bill states that to be eligible a displaced person must have entered the American, British, or French zones of Germany, Austria, or Italy between September 1, 1939, and December 22, 1945, which is the date on which President Truman directed that visas for the Central European countries be used for displaced persons. The State Department later changed that date to April 21, 1947, to include later arrivals who qualify in all other respects as displaced persons. To revert to the December 22, 1945, date means that both the Jews who fled anti-Semitic terror in Poland early in 1946, and refugees from communism in the

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last two years, are excluded from admittance to this country.

4. At least 50 per cent of the visas granted must be to displaced persons formerly engaged in agriculture. This provision means that if each D.P. farmer brings one dependent with him, the entire quota is used by farmers and their families. As farming represents but one-eighth of the useful occupations of displaced persons, this is a clearly discriminatory clause.

5. Another preference, operating independently of the agricultural preference, is that at least 50 per cent of the visas must be given to persons whose place of origin or country of nationality was "annexed by a foreign power." This is equally discriminatory, for it gives to a minority of the D.P.'s who come from the Baltic States and Eastern Poland half the visas. But it has an even more far-reaching effect—it recognizes the annexation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and eastern Poland. Since it is this country's established foreign policy not to recognize these annexations, the Wiley bill is not in line with our country's foreign policy.

In short, the Citizens Committee says "the Wiley bill discriminates against displaced persons on grounds of religion, nationality and occupation. If such a bill were passed, we would be in effect telling the world that we may give lip service to democracy but we do not care to practice it."

It is hoped that the Wiley bill will be amended when it gets to the floor of the Senate and that we will finally decide to admit a fair share of D.P.'s without discrimination. The *New York Times* said in an editorial:

For fifteen months the plight of a million refugees and displaced persons still in the former concentration camps, S.S. barracks and villages of Germany, Austria and Italy has caught the hearts and imagination of the American people. Through the efforts of the Citizens Committee for Displaced Persons and a hundred organizations of every faith and profession, ordinary Americans have made clear that they expect this nation, with its great traditions of sanctuary and humanitarianism, to show world leadership in solving this tragic problem. Congressmen, military government and religious leaders

have given eyewitness accounts of the worth and the hopes of these homeless victims of the war—73 per cent of whom are in family units, and half of whom are women and children. But for those fifteen months a handful of . . . Congressmen held back action on bills to aid the DP's, including the Stratton bill to admit 400,000 DP's over a four-year period. . . .

Now the Senate has the chance for full dress action. It must act upon this problem out of the highest human motives—by amending the bill to reflect America's true "fair share" and by throwing out the jokers. Anything less would be a mockery and a betrayal of the DP's.

HOMELESS CHILDREN OF BRITAIN

ATTENTION was called three years ago in these "Notes" to the vigorous and successful efforts made by Lady Allen of Hurtwood¹ in behalf of Britain's dependent children. We are glad now to reprint an article by Lady Allen published last winter in the *British News-Chronicle*, since there is general interest here in the new British legislation for children.² It was Lady Allen's letter to the *London Times* of July 15, 1944, that opened the campaign for a new charter for children. She asked that the problem of homeless children should be given due consideration in the reconstruction period following the war. She was a witness before the Curtis Committee.

The reprint of the *News-Chronicle* article follows.

HOMELESS CHILDREN OF BRITAIN GET A NEW CHARTER

By LADY ALLEN OF HURTWOOD, J.P.

Chairman of the Nursery School
Association of Great Britain

Many thousands of children who because of family misfortune may never have known the comfort and security of a real home are at long

¹ See this *Review*, XIX (June, 1945), 250-52, "England Needs a Children's Bureau," which discussed Lady Allen's important pamphlet *Whose Children?* See also this *Review*, XXI (March, 1947), 124-25, "Britain's Dependent Children," and XXI (June, 1947), 180-89, "The Care of Dependent and Neglected Children," by John Moss, C.B.E., a member of the British Care of Children Committee, the so-called "Curtis Committee."

² See below, p. 249, for further statement regarding this Children Bill.

last going to have a square deal from the community. The Children Bill, to be debated in the House of Lords on February 10—it will go before the Commons later—will form the basis of their new charter.

The public took an effective share in bringing to the Government's notice the unhappy plight of these homeless children.

Speedy Action

At the end of 1944, a vigorous campaign was waged on their behalf. It was so effective that Mr. Herbert Morrison, then Home Secretary, announced the setting up of two committees, one for England and one for Scotland, to

"Consider what measures should be taken to ensure that these children are brought up under conditions best calculated to compensate them for the lack of parental care."

The committees worked hard for 18 months, visiting institutions, examining witnesses and drafting their reports, and the Clyde and Curtis Reports were published in April and September, 1946.

The Government acted speedily and today we have the Children Bill ready to be passed into law by Parliament.

This quick jump from public indignation to legislative action is notable, for it shows that if the public cares enough and has a good case, its opinions must and will be listened to by a progressive Government.

The new legislation will provide a comprehensive service for the care of children who have lost the security of a normal home life, the orphans, the abandoned and lost, and those whose parents or guardians are unable to provide a proper upbringing.

Parents Kept in Touch

Unlike the haphazard arrangements of today, when children are often separated from their parents without sufficient cause, local authorities will be under an obligation to keep the children in the closest possible touch with their parents, guardians or friends.

The Bill provides that no action must be taken to sever this all-important relationship and, indeed, every effort must be made to keep the children's parents or friends in the picture. There is even a clause which enables a local authority to pay the fares of a relative or guardian wishing to visit a child.

As the law stands at the moment, a parent can be prosecuted if he leaves a child chargeable to the rates. It is clearly not in a child's inter-

ests to force an unwilling parent to take him back into the home by threat of prosecution.

Under the new Bill, the parent can be prosecuted only if he fails to leave his address with the authority concerned. This is one of the clauses designed to ensure that close contact is kept with the parent or guardian.

A local authority will be authorized to pay the fees for specialized training and maintenance until the child has completed his course of study, even though he may be 25 years of age before he has qualified. In other words, the local authority will not abandon any child at any time.

This means that if a child wishes and has the aptitude to become a doctor, a lawyer, or a musician, or to pursue any other career of his choice, the local authority will see him through.

These provisions go further, and rightly so, than the provisions made in the Education Act for children living at home. There will be no more indiscriminate drafting of children into domestic service, laundries, or army bands irrespective of their capabilities, which was such an evil feature of the old system.

Spirit behind the Bill

Although the Bill, of necessity, makes rather dry and legal reading, the clause I quote below indicates the spirit that has animated the drafters; and here I cannot refrain from paying high tribute to the Home Office officials, both men and women who have shown by this Bill that they have a genuine concern for the welfare of this group of children. Clause 12 (1) reads:

"Where the child is in the care of a local authority, it shall be the duty of that authority to exercise their powers with respect to him so as to further his best interests, and to afford him opportunity for the proper development of his character and abilities."

This may appear to be restrained language but it is going to mean a transformation in the children's lives.

One of my criticisms of the Bill is that, whereas children in the direct care of a local authority have clearly defined safeguards to protect them and to ensure their welfare, many of the provisions do not apply to children who will be looked after by voluntary organizations.

Power to Close Home

Certain of these organizations, for instance, refuse to allow their children to be adopted or

to be boarded-out, and there is no power in the Bill to compel an organization to change its methods; only persuasion can be used.

All homes run by voluntary organizations will, in future, have to be registered and inspected, and the Secretary of State will have the power to close a home if he has reason to believe it is not being properly run. There is, however, no power to withdraw an individual child who may be in need of a different form of care which perhaps, the voluntary organization is not in a position to provide.

Voluntary organizations, unlike a local authority, will be under no obligation to appoint a Children's Committee of responsible people, nor need they appoint a properly trained children's officer. The heads of their homes will not have to be approved by the Secretary of State, and the organization will not be required to appoint someone with the necessary qualifications.

Local authorities have to satisfy the Secretary of State on all these points, so why not the voluntary organizations? It may be that the threat of closure is considered sufficient power, but I think some tightening up of the Bill is needed here.

Local authorities will have a duty to provide reception centers where all children under their care can benefit from "the necessary facilities for observation of their physical and mental condition."

This important innovation will mean that children can be placed in the environment most suited to their individual needs.

Rebuilding Home Life

The voluntary organizations are not required to undertake this essential work. Why? Every child should pass through a reception center so that the right placement may be made, and this should apply to all children in need of State or voluntary care.

It is at the reception center that rebuilding of the child's home life should begin, if this is at all possible, for home life can be mended and preserved more often than most people suppose.

A White Paper which accompanies the Bill expressly states that those orphans of Service men who are the responsibility of the Admiralty and the War Office are excluded from the provisions of the Bill. Why should this group of homeless children be denied the safeguards afforded the others?

Certain of the voluntary organizations are

still conducting their work under charters framed generations ago.

There is one wealthy foundation that takes only illegitimate children, and their charter provides for as complete a break as possible with the "erring" mother. The children on admission are, therefore, rebaptised and given new Christian and surnames.

Inhuman Separation

So long as these children remain in the institution the mothers may only *inquire* from the secretary how the children are getting on. No personal contact is allowed, no visits may be made and no letters exchanged. There seems to be no provision in the Bill to alter this kind of inhuman separation of mother and child, except the threat of closure.

Voluntary organizations could be a valuable means of developing new methods of care, but there must be sufficient safeguards, and the organization should never be allowed to become so large that the need of the individual child is lost.

I do not believe that any child should be dependent for his upbringing and welfare upon charitable funds. The new Children Bill perpetuates this system.

Flag days and all the rest have been abolished for the hospitals and the old people are no longer dependent on charity. Why should this injustice remain for the children?

I propose therefore, that the State should found a national trust for children into which these generous offers could flow. Children would not then be dependent on charity, with its inevitable obligation to be "thankful for small mercies."

THE BRITISH "CHILDREN BILL"

THE British government's plan for the care of some one hundred and twenty-five thousand homeless children in England and Wales and thirteen thousand and five hundred in Scotland, published in the Children Bill, with an explanatory White Paper, has been outlined by the *Manchester Guardian's* political correspondent as follows:

The bill is based on the principal findings of the reports of the Curtis and Clyde committees, and also continues the care of those children who, through the ending of the Poor Law, would otherwise have been unprotected.



From "Punch"

CROSSING THE FORD

The Children Bill carries out the policy announced by Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons on March 24, but it does not touch the law of adoption, although both the Curtis and Clyde committees recommended changes in it. These, states the White Paper, "have been noted for consideration in connection with appropriate legislation." The Government claims, however, that the new bill deals with the main problem of child care.

County and county borough councils will be given the duty of taking into their care any child in their area under the age of 17 who has no parents or guardians, or has been abandoned or lost, or whose parents or guardians are prevented in some way from giving him proper accommodation and maintenance, and upbringing. It must appear to the local authority that its intervention is necessary in the interests of the child. No local authority will be allowed to evade its duty because the child normally lives in the area of a second authority, but the second authority may either assume responsibility for the child or pay the first authority for his upkeep.

Normally a local authority will maintain a child until he is 18, but he may be returned to the care of parents or guardians if that is thought to be consistent with his welfare. It is intended that "the local authority should stand as a parent to the child and should interest themselves in his welfare as long as his need of their care continues. . . . A local authority will be under obligation to make such use of facilities and services available for children living with their parents as is reasonable in his case."

"Protected" children who may go to secondary schools or the university are not to be handicapped by the lack of the equipment (blazers, for example) ordinarily used by their fellows.

The children are to be accommodated in various ways: with foster-parents, or in homes or hostels to be provided by the local authorities, or in voluntary homes. The Home Secretary asks for power to make regulations to secure the welfare of children accommodated by voluntary organizations. When the bill comes into force, which will be not later than July 5 next—the start of the National Health Service scheme—all voluntary homes will have to be registered, and a month's notice will have to be given to the Home Secretary by anybody proposing to open a new voluntary home.

Local authorities will be obliged to appoint

a children's committee to administer the new provisions unless the Home Secretary is satisfied that special circumstances make this unnecessary. Similarly each local authority will have to appoint a children's officer who will be the executive of the children's committee and who is not to be used in any other way without special sanction.

The Home Office will take responsibility for training the necessary staff. Already sixty women are being trained at the universities of London, Leeds, Liverpool, and Cardiff as supervisors of children's homes, boarding-out officers, and so on. About a hundred more women have been selected as "house mothers," and the first training course, for thirty of them, opened in London last January by arrangement with the London County Council.

Before a local authority may appoint a children's officer the names of candidates for the appointment are to be submitted to the Home Secretary, who will prohibit the selection of any candidate thought by the Home Office to be unsuitable.

The Exchequer will provide not more than half the costs incurred by a local authority in carrying out the provisions of the bill, and the Home Secretary may recover from local authorities not more than half the cost of training staff. The form of stating the Exchequer contribution is designed to permit the withholding of grants, or part of them, if the Home Secretary wishes to apply a sanction against an ineffectual local authority.

SOCIAL SERVICES IN BRITAIN

A USEFUL small pamphlet provides a brief account of what are called "social services" in Great Britain.¹ These services are divided into "Personal Services," such as social insurance provisions, family allowances, and workmen's compensation; and "Environmental Services," such as workshop and factory regulations, housing and town planning, and various sanitary measures. There is a brief statement about the "Finances of Social Services" and the

¹ Published by the British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y. Available on request.

"Work of Voluntary Organizations." There is also a section on "Social Service Personnel," which notes that there are sixteen universities or university colleges (counting as one the three colleges of the University of London) which offer training courses for social work. They have as "a common meeting ground" a consultative body, the Joint University Council for Social Studies and Public Administration. Attention is also called to the "supplementary professional training for many specialized branches of social work."

A statement regarding the public agencies and "trained workers" is as follows:

Some government departments, notably the Assistance Board, provide "on the job" training. The Home Office trains probation officers, and the Children's Branch inspectors and others concerned with the care of children deprived of their natural homes. Other departments also employ inspectors who are engaged in social work. Many Local Authorities employ trained welfare officers in various branches of their work. In general, it may be said that war experience hastened the recognition of the value of trained social workers in Britain.

THE BRITISH DOCTORS AND THE NEW HEALTH SERVICE

THE new British Health Service is having serious difficulties with the British Medical Association over the terms offered to the doctors under the National Health Service Act, which is to go into effect on July 5, 1948. Mr. Aneurin Bevan, the Minister of Health under Mr. Attlee, has not been willing to meet the demands of the doctors.¹ Late last January Mr. Bevan, in reply to ques-

¹ After this note was in proof, an agreement was finally reached between the Minister and the doctors. *Time* magazine (May 17) reported that the B.M.A. "reluctantly came to a decision" not "to oppose (and force its members to boycott) the government's National Health Service. . . . British doctors who join the Service will get a yearly retainer of £300 (\$1,200) plus additional fees for services rendered." The Minister has also given his promise that "the £300 retainer, he promised, is not an entering wedge toward a straight government salary. Doctors who join the Service can leave it after a trial, he said, and can always engage in private practice on the side."

tions submitted by the *Lancet*, gave the profession two assurances. He stated definitely that it was not the intention of the government to convert the scheme into a full-time salaried service. He could not read into the mind of any future minister, he said, but it was his intention that the main source of a doctor's remuneration should be by capitation. To clear up doubts on the legal position of medical partnerships under the act, the minister proposed to obtain "a collective legal opinion of high standing" by appointing at once a committee of legal experts to say whether or not a partner in an existing partnership is fully protected. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that nearly fifty-six thousand doctors in England, Wales, and Scotland received the B.M.A. plebiscite forms on the national health service. They were asked whether they approved of the act in its present form; whether they were in favor of accepting service under it; and whether they agreed not to enter the service if there was a majority against doing so. Mr. Bevan commented in the House of Commons on the fact that doctors were to put their names and addresses on the voting papers and that the B.M.A., which was conducting the ballot, was itself engaged in a campaign to induce the doctors to vote one way. This, Mr. Bevan suggested, was far from a secret ballot and was bound to cast doubt on the validity of the result. "The B.M.A. shortly afterwards issued a statement in which it categorically denied that there would be any intimidation of doctors." The voting forms were to be checked and counted by an eminent firm of accountants and were then to be destroyed. The signing of the forms was said by the B.M.A. to be the only method of preventing abuse in a postal vote.

In the debate in the House of Commons late last winter when Mr. Bevan stated his case in favor of the plans for operation of the act, the *Guardian* described Mr. Bevan's statement as

a brilliant performance which sent the Labour benches wild with delight. He sat down at the end of it to one of those long, sustained cheers

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that parties in the House of Commons reserve for an unusual gladiatorial triumph. What could not be foreseen was whether Mr. Bevan was going to play from strength a conciliatory card.

The House was not left in doubt many minutes. Conciliation was decidedly not his line. He had decided to attack the B.M.A. without mercy. He loosed one fierce charge after another at them. According to him they were a small body of raucous-voiced, politically poisoned people who as completely misrepresented the medical profession as they had misrepresented the National Health Act. They were engaged in "a squalid political conspiracy." They were "organising sabotage of an Act of Parliament." They had always been reactionary. They resisted Lloyd George years ago. . . . The Labour benches cheered him furiously again and again as the invective mounted.

A friend of the doctors and of the B.M.A. said in reply to Mr. Bevan that "the doctors' great stumbling-block is the fear that the basic salary will be extended to make it a whole-time State-salaried service. He suggested that if the Minister could reassure the doctors on that point it would help enormously."

Mr. Bevan obliged at once with the statement that "there is no intention of introducing a full-time basic salary."

The *Guardian* correspondent reported that Mr. Bevan was "by no means only concerned to assail the B.M.A. He patiently presented his answer to the B.M.A.'s four main criticisms—the opposition to the abolition of the sale of practices, the objection to the basic salary, the misgivings about partnership agreements, and the claim of the right of appeal to the courts after dismissal. . . ."

The further report of the *Guardian* is as follows:

There were lively moments in the closing stages of the debate, but little genuine anger. Mr. Richard Law ended a speech which had been a stout defence of the B.M.A. by rather inconsistently conceding that the public regarded the B.M.A. as having been stubborn, though, of course, he added that the public regarded Mr. Bevan as having been equally and unnecessarily stubborn. He appealed for another attempt to end the deadlock and urged

Mr. Bevan to begin it by making concessions.

Dr. H. Guy Dain, chairman of the Council of the British Medical Association and of the medical profession's Negotiating Committee, described the Minister's allegations that there had been misrepresentation, sustained by a campaign of personal abuse from a small body of spokesmen, as "entirely untrue." In an official statement the B.M.A. said:

"Where spokesmen of the B.M.A. have criticised Mr. Bevan's scheme they have only been following what has been laid down by our own democratic machinery as the policy of the profession."

The B.M.A. plebiscite on the Health Service Act showed that 89 per cent of the doctors were opposed to the new service and only 11 per cent were in favor of it. A New York *Times* report of a meeting of the Representative Body of the B.M.A. showed that the doctors unanimously "adopted a resolution declaring that it was not in the interest of the public or of themselves for doctors to accept service under the Health Act until changes were made to 'maintain the integrity of medicine and prevent doctors being turned into state servants.'"

The doctors present were said to have cheered when one of them declared that the "powers of the Minister (Minister of Health Aneurin Bevan) will lead to the enslavement of the medical profession."

The doctor who conducted the negotiations with the Minister, said: "We're engaged in a life and death struggle for our freedom and independence."

Besides reiterating the profession's refusal to operate the health scheme, the Representative Body voted that it should be postponed until the facilities and personnel were available to operate it. The B.M.A. is reported to have established an "independence" fund with £400,000 (about \$1,600,000) set aside for the fund.

Outsiders in this country must regret the controversy, which may postpone the implementing of the great act which promises so much for the people's health. When one remembers the victory of Mr. Lloyd George over the B.M.A. when the Health Insurance provisions were to go into operation in 1912,

there seems reason to hope that in the long run the doctors cannot continue their strike against the operation of the act.

We quote from a poem by Sagittarius in *Punch* entitled "Doctors' Disorders":

The B.M.A. caucus abusive and raucous
Brings medical aid to democracy;
It nurses ill-feeling respecting State healing
On a plea of the purest Hippocracy.
The Act, say physicians, appears to opticians
As the most anti-social of ventures,
The consultant's intention is total abstention,
And dentists are gnashing their dentures.

To B.M.A. zealots State doctors are helots
Coerced by the Health Act commissioners,
And the force of discussion produces concussion
In wavering general practitioners. . . .
If the care of the nation with State capitation
Gives M.D.s a seizure mysterious,
Their fevered condition arouses suspicion
That the doctors themselves are delirious.

The grounds of the quarrel, say doctors, are moral,
And their conflict with conscience is painful,
While the Government motion, with a sedative
potion,
Finds B.M.A. diehards disdainful.
A mental obsession afflicts the profession
And drives them to lunacy's borders:
They swear they won't enter a medical centre
While Bevan defies doctors' orders.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER SENECA FALLS 1848-1948

A CONFERENCE of American women under the auspices of the United States Women's Bureau on "The American Woman: Her Changing Role as Worker, Home-maker, Citizen" was held in Washington late last February. The conference was one of several to mark the notable anniversary—one hundred years after Seneca Falls, where the Women's Rights movement began. The conference speakers included Dean Thompson of Vassar College, twice a government delegate to the United Nations Social and Economic Council; Miss Dorothy Kenyon, the United States member of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women; Gladys Dickason, of the Amal-

gamated Clothing Workers of America; Hazel Kyrk, University of Chicago; Mildred Fairchild, of the I.L.O.; Mrs. Harold Stone, League of Women Voters; Maida Springer, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Elisabeth Christman, National Women's Trade Union League; Minerva Bernardino, Inter-American Commission of Women; Elizabeth Magee, National Consumers League; and Irma Rittenhouse, Department of Labor, New York State.

Miss Miller, the director of the Women's Bureau, in outlining the conference program announced that registered delegates came from twenty-six states, representing hundreds of organizations. "The most basic fact before this Conference," she said, "is that today about 17 million women are either working or are seeking work, and they are 28 per cent of the entire labor force of the country."

Miss Miller reported the surprise of the Women's Bureau that there were only three and a half-million fewer women employed than those working at the wartime production peak. The employment of women seems to have been stable "at least in the sense that jobs have been available. There have been shifts from better-paying factory jobs into the less well-paying service trades, but of prime importance is the fact that few women who want to work today are without jobs."

Attention was also called to the fact that there are now almost three million more women in the labor force than in 1940 and that, in the seven years since then, "women's place in the labor market has expanded as much as it did in the 10 years between 1930 and 1940."

"There are over eight times as many women in the work force today as there were 80 years ago," Miss Miller said, making a long-time comparison. In 1900 there were five million women employed, or 18 per cent of the total. "Since the turn of the century this number has more than tripled while the number of men is some 3 million less than in 1900." The changing pattern of women's work was noted. "Today about half the

women in the work force are 35 years or older whereas formerly it was more customary for women 20-24 to work than at any other age. In 1940 women were employed in all but 9 occupations out of 451 then in use." Miss Miller found "nothing on the horizon to indicate that the clock will be turned back on women's progress" and told the conference that the 1948 job was "to take stock of where we are, to set our sights on where we want to go, and to conspire with the future to help coming generations of women make equal progress and as great a contribution as did their predecessors in terms of the world of the next century."

SHOULD COMMUNISTS BE BARRED FROM TEACHING POSITIONS?

A REPORT of the vigorous testimony given by Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, in opposition to the passage of a bill in the Massachusetts legislature barring Communists from teaching in public and private schools was published in the *New York Times*. President Conant said that the passing of the bill would be "welcome news to the rulers of Soviet Russia."

The report in the *Times* was as follows:

The Harvard president was one of several leading educators who appeared in opposition to such a bill, proposed by Attorney General Clarence A. Barnes of Massachusetts.

In a prepared statement which he read before the Legislative Committee on Education, Dr. Conant said the proposed law would play into the hands of the Communists by dividing the American people, promoting hysteria and repudiating "the basic principles that have guided the destiny of the republic."

Asserting that the healthy condition of education in the United States depended on maintaining the principles of local control, Dr. Conant said that "to threaten criminal action against public citizens, such as school committee members, ... is to jeopardize the whole structure of our educational system."

Dr. Conant, terming the present world situation an "armed truce," said secret agents of hostile nations "may well be at work and against them we should do well to take every reasonable precaution."

"But," he continued, "in so doing, we must

neither show a degree of fear that verges on hysteria or panic, nor take steps which destroy the whole basis for our success in a world-wide competition with an alien and hostile ideology."

Altering the basic frame work of the American society, or showing "alarm at people's opinions," Dr. Conant declared, would give "the world a danger signal."

Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, president of Wellesley College, expressed her opposition to the bill because it would be "ponderously hard to administer and would not accomplish its purpose."

Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., vice president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who told the committee that Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of M.I.T., concurred in opposition to the bill, asserted that "the bill says in effect that the responsible officer of an educational institution should be a person so omniscient that he must be able to tell a Communist when he sees one, or be prepared at any time to determine what the doctrines of the Communist party may be on that particular day and to determine whether any member of the staff of his institution, orally or in writing, has advocated any of these doctrines."

"I submit, gentlemen, that this is not only impossible, but also dangerous."

UNITED NATIONS FELLOWSHIPS

FURTHER plans for United Nations fellowships were announced in the *U.N. Bulletin* after members of the United Nations Secretariat and representatives of specialized agencies had met at Lake Success early this spring to review the present international fellowship programs and to formulate a plan for the co-ordination of the programs. "The purpose of the United Nations welfare fellowship programs is to provide governments with opportunities to send social welfare experts abroad, enabling them to gain knowledge helpful to their own country." Last year the United Nations awarded 124 fellowships to nationals of twelve countries, and the Fellows were placed in ten countries to study such subjects as child welfare, welfare legislation, psychiatric social work, and vocational rehabilitation. The director of the Secretariat's Division of Social Activities (Sir Raphael Cilento) announced that, under the

1948 program, fellowships may be awarded in additional fields. The representative of the World Health Organization reported that 245 fellowships were at present in operation under the auspices of that organization; and U.N.E.S.C.O. reported that 52 fellowships would be awarded in 1948 to students and research workers in nine war-devastated countries. This is in addition to 62 scholarships and study grants.

The International Children's Emergency Fund reported that a Swiss relief organization, "Don Suisse," had offered the Fund 60 fellowships for training personnel in the field of child welfare. France had offered free courses for the same purpose. A representative of the Rockefeller Foundation said that that organization had offered fellowships to highly qualified social workers in the Far East, Latin America, and Europe. Negotiations were also under way to accord a number of fellowships to the United Nations.

Of interest, too, is the further report that students from all parts of the world are being given an opportunity to study the work of the United Nations by becoming intern staff members of the Secretariat at Lake Success during the summer of 1948. Invitations to nominate students for forty available posts for interns were sent to all fifty-seven member-governments, and forty candidates were to be chosen by a United Nations selection board. In addition, a few others were to be invited on a scholarship basis.

This international group is to work for eight weeks in a variety of posts, including some in economic, social, trusteeship, and public information departments of the United Nations. In return, the students receive lecture and seminar instruction on the work of the United Nations for five hours each week.

It was found that the 1948 budget of the United Nations could not cover all the expenses of the student internships program, but two organizations interested in promoting international understanding—the Rotary International and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace—each

contributed \$6,000 to make the plan possible.

NOTES AND NEWS FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

THE New York School of Social Work, our pioneer school of social welfare, is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary as we go to press, with an interesting series of meetings in which some of the distinguished graduates of the school, with some of the members of the school faculty, and some well-known members of our own and other professions were participants. The subject of the first session on April 26 was "Social Welfare in a Democratic Society," with Dean Earl Harrison of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, Mr. H. H. Griswold of Cleveland, and Dean Arlien Johnson of the University of Southern California as the speakers. The second session dealt with "Blending Social Theory with Practice in the Professional Training of Social Workers," with Dean Benjamin E. Youngdahl of Washington University, St. Louis, president of the A.A.S.S.W.; Miss Eleanor Neustaetter of the faculty of the New York School; and Professor Charlotte Towle of the University of Chicago faculty as the speakers. The program of another session had for its subject: "The Graduate School of Social Work in a University Setting," with Professor Irwin Edman and Professor L. C. Dunn of Columbia University and Professor Eduard C. Lindeman of the New York School as speakers. One session was given to the subject "Social Welfare: Its World Aims," with Sir Raphael Cilento, director of the United Nations Division of Social Activities, speaking on "The World Moves toward Professional Standards" and Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defense in Canada, speaking on "International Horizons for Health and Welfare."

On the last day the subject of the morning session was "The Selection of Candidates for the Humane Professions," with Dr. Henry W. Brosin, professor of psychiatry in the University of Chicago Medical School, and Dr. Sidney Berengarten of the New

York School faculty as the speaker. A final session, over which Dean Margaret Leal of the New York School presided, included a discussion of a study concerning graduates of the New York School of Social Work.

From Washington University, St. Louis, comes word that Helen E. Hayden, who was once director of the Kansas City unit of the George Warren Brown School of Social Work, has been appointed associate professor on the faculty of the school at St. Louis. Miss Hayden, who has had previous experience in public and private social agencies, has her Master's degree from the University of Minnesota and was formerly on the staff there. Also at Washington University, Sidney E. Zimbalist, who has his Master's degree from Chicago, has been given charge of thesis supervision and teaches some classes.

The School of Social Work at the University of Denver has added two new faculty members, Miss Anneliese Pulvermann, a graduate of the Bryn Mawr School of Social Work with research experience at the University of Denver, and Mr. Campbell G. Murphy, who has an M.A. degree from the Graduate School of Social Work of the University of Washington, as well as several years of experience. He will teach community organization, methods of social investigation, and some of the child welfare content in the Denver School. The psychiatric social work program of the school has been approved by the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.

From the Indiana University Division of Social Service comes news that Mr. Loren Hess, A.M., Chicago, formerly a probation officer at South Bend, Indiana, and a part-time instructor at the University of Notre Dame, has been appointed assistant professor in the Division and will begin full-time work teaching graduate courses in Indianapolis in the summer of 1948. Ben Meeker, A.M., Chicago, of the Indiana faculty has been on leave of absence, part time, as consultant to the State Penal and Correctional Survey Commission, which is making a study of all correctional institutions in the state.

At Western Reserve University a new associate professor of case work is Mrs. Erna Henschke Bowman, who was formerly associate professor of case work at the Kent School of Social Work, University of Louisville.

At the Simmons College School of Social Work Dr. Franz Goldmann, associate professor of medical care at the Harvard School of Public Health, has been giving a new course for second-year students on "Organization of Medical Care," a course concurrent with a seminar dealing with medical social work in public programs. Next year Dr. Goldmann will also direct a sequence on "Community Health Organization" for first-year students. From Simmons also comes the report that Elizabeth P. Rice is to join the faculty of the Harvard School of Public Health—and this is said to be the first appointment of a medical social worker to a public health faculty in this country.

Tulane University School of Social Work reports that Miss Kathleen Kelly, M.S. S.A., Pittsburg, has been added to the faculty as assistant professor of group work; and Mrs. Liselott Toby, M.S., New York School of Social Work, and formerly associate supervisor of the Brooklyn office of the Jewish Board of Guardians, has been made assistant professor of psychiatric social work. Miss Dorothy Carter, M.S.W., Tulane, with experience in the Houston, Texas, Child Guidance Center, has been appointed assistant professor of psychiatric social work in connection with the expansion made possible through the Mental Hygiene grant. Miss Freda Goldsmith, M.S.S., Smith College, who was supervisor in charge of court work of the Jewish Board of Guardians, has been made associate professor of social case work. Miss Evelyn Cochran, M.A., Tulane, has been made assistant professor of medical social work to develop a five-year project for the preparation of medical social workers in public medical and public health clinics, which has been jointly undertaken by the Louisiana State Department of Health and the Tulane school. Miss Cochran was hospital supervisor, European Theater of Op-

erations, American Red Cross, and was chief social worker of the Veterans Administration Hospital, Oakland, California.

Three new members have been added to the faculty of the School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley—Dr. Davis McEntire, who has had experience in research with the United States Department of Agriculture and other agencies and who was abroad with U.N.R.R.A., is teaching the courses in research methodology and supervising the group-research projects of students. Mrs. Sally Dewees, who served as regional supervising psychiatric social worker for the California State Department of Mental Hygiene, has joined the case-work teaching staff in charge of the first-year case-work program. Miss Mary Duren, who has held several psychiatric social work positions and whose appointment was made possible by a grant of funds under the National Mental Health Act, is teaching advanced case work and assisting in the development of the psychiatric case work. Milton Chernin, who returned to the School of Social Welfare as chairman of the department in July, 1946, was appointed dean of the school in September, 1947. Berkeley also has an additional plan for requirements for the professional degree, Master of Social Welfare, which should enable a larger proportion of second-year students to complete the requirements for this degree.

A conference for deans and directors of schools of social work will be held at the University of Chicago on July 10 and 11, following an Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, and the selected problems of special concern to directors of schools of social work will be discussed.

The round-table discussion on "Preprofessional Education for Social Work," held in Bloomington, Indiana, October 23-25, 1947, is now available, and copies may be obtained from Miss Grace Browning, director of the Indiana University Division of Social Service.

At the time we went to press for our last issue, the A.A.S.S.W. was in session at Min-

neapolis. Reports from that meeting show a large attendance with an official registration of three hundred and seventy-two, including about thirty persons teaching in schools not members of the association and chairmen of A.A.S.S.W. chapters and of education committees of various professional associations, and a large number of social workers from the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. All member-schools except one were represented, and faculty members were present from such distant points as Puerto Rico and Hawaii. The complete "Proceedings" as well as major committee reports and papers read at certain sessions are now available.

Two new schools—University of Kansas (two-year school) and University of Missouri (one-year school)—were admitted to provisional membership, and the Board recommended that Our Lady of the Lake College be admitted to full membership as a one-year school.

With regard to association finances Wilbur Newstetter, as chairman of the finance committee, made a notable report, although additional funds are still necessary. Mr. Newstetter reported \$14,250 from foundations, \$10,112.50 from membership dues, \$5,000 from the United States Public Health Service, \$1,525 from special contributions (Minneapolis-St. Paul), and \$725 from publications, with an additional sum of \$1,562.50 definitely expected—a total of \$33,175 on hand or promised, with a balance of \$5,125 to be raised by the finance committee for a total budget of \$38,300.

The members of the finance committee to date are: Wilbur I. Newstetter (Pittsburgh), chairman; Saul Bernstein (Boston University); Milton Chernin (California); Anne Fenlason (Minnesota); Anna King (Fordham); Benjamin Lyndon (Wayne University); Mgr McClafferty (Catholic University); Helen Phillips (Pennsylvania School), and Emil Sunley (Denver).

The A.A.S.S.W. has sent out its annual report on the number of students registered in the accredited schools of social work in the academic year 1946-47 and on Novem-

ber 1, 1947; and this report shows that the total number of students registered in 1946-47 was 11,246. Of these, 4,026 were full-time graduate students as compared with 3,630 in the preceding year, an 11 per cent increase. The total number of students enrolled on November 1, 1947, was 7,909. This total included 4,026 students specializing in social work full time, 3,188 part-time and extension students, and 695 students from other university departments.

There are, of course, very great differences in the number of students in the different schools, with the New York School still having the largest number of students. The following table shows the number of schools with different numbers of full-time graduate students as of November 1, 1947:

No. of Students	No. of Schools
Under 50	18*
50 and less than 100	14
100 and less than 200	13
200 and less than 300	1
300 and less than 400	1
Total	47

* Seven schools had less than 25 students.

The forty-eight states, Alaska, and the District of Columbia were all represented with a group of students, and there were also in the different schools students from Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Canada, which all have accredited schools, and students from Mexico, South America, Europe, Asia, and the Philippines. Chicago had students from forty different states and the District of Columbia, two from the United States possessions, and ten from other countries. New York had students from thirty-eight different states and the District of Columbia, one from the United States possessions, and nine from other countries. The other schools had smaller numbers of states and countries represented in the student body.

The Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor is making studies of careers for women and is now be-

ginning the study of social work. This study will show the status of men in the field, but emphasis will be placed on opportunities for women.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK AT ATLANTIC CITY

THE seventy-fifth anniversary sessions of the National Conference of Social Work were just beginning as we go to press, and there was the usual large attendance at Atlantic City. Since the International Conference of Social Work was to follow with a series of meetings, distinguished social work leaders were said to be present from thirty-five different countries, and some important foreign speakers were scheduled for our own conference. There was wide interest in the memorial meeting for Howard Knight, who was so greatly missed both by our own and by foreign delegates.

Since the *Review* has discussed before the importance of documentary films, we take note of some "documentaries" that were available for the delegates. The Danish government showed a new series of films with English commentaries on important subjects of Danish social welfare, with the special aim of promoting international understanding in the social welfare field. The following were included: "Denmark Grows Up," describing the Danish care of mother and children; "People's Holidays"; "Health for Denmark" (the health insurance and hospital system); "The Seventh Age," on the old age pension system and the special housing arrangements for old people.

The National Social Welfare Assembly film, "Make Way for Youth," was playing as part of the regular program at one of the local theaters.

The Conference is scheduled to meet next year in Cleveland. The new president will be Ralph H. Blanchard, executive director, Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

IN MEMORIAM

EDWARD T. DEVINE, 1867-1948

FOR nearly a quarter of a century Edward T. Devine was one of our well-known social welfare leaders. Born in Iowa and graduated from Cornell College, Iowa, he went to the University of Pennsylvania for his doctorate in economics and later studied a year in Germany. He became identified with New York when he was made secretary of the New York C.O.S. in 1896, and he was soon known as a vigorous champion of various social-reform movements. While he was director of the C.O.S., he was really the founder of what is now the *Survey* magazine, at that time called *Charities*—later *Charities and the Commons*. During this active period of his life he was one of the first leaders in the antituberculosis movement; and in the housing-reform movement, which began at the turn of the century with the great report on New York housing by Robert W. De Forest and Lawrence Veiller. He was also the special representative of the Red Cross in charge of relief after the San Francisco earthquake in 1906, and he was in charge of storm and flood relief in Dayton in 1913. He was a well-known speaker at the National Conference of Social Work, of which he was president in 1906.

He was the founder of the New York School of Social Work, which he called at first the "New York School of Philanthropy." In 1911 he became, as he had been earlier, the director of the New York School and a professor of social economy at Columbia University, and he served at this time as a connecting link between the school and the university. In 1917 he gave up his work in the school and went to France with the Red Cross as chief of the Bureau of Refugees and Home Relief for the American Red Cross Commission to France. Very unfortunately, after his return he never seemed to regain his old position of leadership in social work.

He was for a time dean of the graduate school of the American University in Washington, D.C., and he was a member of the

United States Coal Commission in 1922-23. He also directed the Bellevue-Yorkville Health Demonstration, New York City, and the Nassau County Emergency Work and Emergency Relief Bureau.

He wrote various books, at least one of which, *Principles of Relief*, was widely used at one time. Perhaps a slight volume, *When Social Work Was Young*, which he wrote in his retirement and in which he describes the development of the work in which he had such an active part, is today the most valuable of his books.

KENNETH L. M. PRAY
1882-1948

THE death of Kenneth Pray, dean of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, with which he had long been associated, was a great shock to his friends in many parts of the country. Although he was born in Wisconsin and was a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, he was identified with public work in Pennsylvania over a long period of time. He had been executive secretary of the Public Charities Association and political editor of the old *Philadelphia Record*. He had been first director and then dean of the School of Social Work of the University of Pennsylvania almost continuously since 1922 and was also professor of social planning and administrator. He was a long-time member of the National Conference of Social Work, of which he was president at Buffalo in 1946.

He was a member of various boards and committees. He served as chief of staff of the committee which prepared the state plan for public assistance now in effect in Pennsylvania. He was at the time of his death serving on the board of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, the Pennsylvania State Industrial School at Huntingdon, and the Pennsylvania State Industrial Home for Women at Muncy.

Most recently he had been a technical social work consultant to the social affairs division of the U.N. Secretariat and a member of the Philadelphia committee on public affairs.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

POSTWAR ACTION AND REACTION IN SOCIAL WELFARE

To the Editor:

Readers of the *Review* may be interested to know that Washington, D.C., is emerging from two surveys: one an exhaustive social welfare study initiated by the Council of Social Agencies, the other a five-month study by a Citizens' Committee of the sixty-one Community Chest agencies and the Chest itself. Whether this expenditure of lay and professional time and money has been utilized for the benefit of the community is a major concern of the social welfare leaders in the nation's capital.

In view of the fact that several other cities have recently decided to take a postwar look at their community welfare picture, a detailed report of these surveys is pertinent.

From the latter part of 1945 to the first of 1947 the Council of Social Agencies sponsored a social survey conducted by a trained staff under the leadership of independent volunteer committees. The purpose was to develop a comprehensive study of social and health conditions, and the work resulted in reports¹ on the fields of family and child welfare, corrections, recreation, adult education, vocational adjustment, labor-management relations, race relations, religious relations, and organization and structure of social work.

Because the race relations report criticized the existing pattern of segregation in the city of Washington, several community groups sprang to attack the entire survey as well as the Council of Social Agencies for instigating it. The most vocal groups were the Federation of Businessmen's Associations and the Federation of Citizens' Associations. The latter organization as early as June, 1945, had issued a report by its public welfare committee on "The Use of Community Chest Funds for Propaganda and Lobbying Purposes." The report decried the situation in which "a large proportion of the [Chest] funds . . . raised . . . by the emotional appeal . . . of the pitiful plight of the needy . . . are

allocated to agencies whose services are only indirectly connected with alleviation of the misery so dramatically depicted." It recommended exclusion from the Chest of four agencies: the Council of Social Agencies, the Washington Housing Association, the social welfare department of the Federation of Churches, and the Washington Urban League. The reason given was that the four agencies were not engaged in "social, welfare or charitable work in the ordinary meaning of these terms." Immediately following the issuing of the social survey reports, the Federation of Citizens' Associations renewed more vigorously its continued demands for the ouster of these agencies.

In January, 1947, one of the affiliates of the Federation of Businessmen's Associations demanded an audit of the books of the Community Chest together with investigation of its "high-priced jobs" and "non-charitable organizations." A local newspaper pointed out that this affiliate group had held its meetings in a local real-estate office, and the newspaper article added parenthetically: "Some District of Columbia real estate interests took offense at the Chest because the Washington Housing Association . . . had campaigned for public housing here."

A short time later the Board of Trade authorized its president to appoint a committee to work with the Federation of Citizens' Associations and the Federation of Businessmen's Associations on a study of criticism of "non-charitable activity" of the Chest. The study was designed, according to the Board of Trade, "to restore the confidence of the people in the Chest." A newspaper reviewed the criticism directed at the four Chest agencies and noted that "a survey made in 1946 by the Community Chests and Councils, Incorporated, of New York highly praised the non-charity organizations which the local group [Federation of Citizens' Associations] attacked." The newspaper, pointing out that C.C.C. is "the national professional organization of Chest workers, corresponding to the American Bar Association for lawyers and the American Medical Association for doctors," went on to say that its 1946

¹ The health and hospital survey was conducted separately and a report issued in the spring of 1946.

survey had said that the Chest was "far ahead of most communities in recognition of the value of supplying such services and has progressed beyond the idea that welfare and charity are synonymous."

The executive committee of the Community Chest decided that, if a committee composed of representatives of community groups were formed to study the situation, the existing criticism could be resolved. Because there are approximately two thousand organizations in the city, it was not feasible to invite representatives from all of them. Finally the following eight organizations were invited to send three delegates each: the Federation of Citizens' Associations (white), the Federation of Civic Associations (Negro), the Federation of Businessmen's Associations, the Board of Trade, the Junior Board of Commerce, the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., and the Federal Personnel Council. The only stipulation made was that the delegates appointed have no direct affiliation with the Chest or with any of its agencies.

All the eight organizations responded to the invitation, and the committee, which was called the "Citizens' Chest Survey Committee," began its work in March, 1947. It soon established a statement of basic principles, which stated in part that "the Community Chest being an essential community enterprise, the objective of the Survey Committee will be to preserve and strengthen it."

The Committee was divided into three subcommittees with one delegate from each of the eight organizations on each subcommittee. One subcommittee was to investigate the structures of the Chest and of the Council of Social Agencies, and the other subcommittees were to review the work of each of the other sixty Chest agencies. A questionnaire was sent to all the Chest agencies requesting information about their budgets, programs, board membership, the organizations with which they were affiliated, etc. Appointments were then made for the executives and board members of the agencies to appear before the subcommittees.

During the months in which the subcommittees worked on their investigations all the long-existing bugaboos of misunderstanding about welfare programs arose. Some subcommittee members felt betrayed when they learned that much of their contributions, which they thought were given to feed the ragged, pathetic youngster depicted on the Community Chest campaign poster, was instead being directed

into character-building, health education, and other similar preventive programs. They believed social workers were idealistic, "socialistic-minded" theorists, who would spend recklessly as many dollars as were allotted them, and they termed professional workers "racketeers in human suffering." Local pride was injured when it was learned that two agency executives were recently imported from New York because no local candidate had the required experience in the specialized fields. The questions of high salaries and membership in national organizations, the multiplicity of agencies dealing with unmarried mothers, and the problem of no babies to adopt were all subjects of heated debate.

After more than five months' study the Citizens' Committee members were unable to agree in a majority report and instead issued three minority reports. The one most critical of the existing Chest agencies recommended exclusion of twenty-two of the sixty-one agencies from the Community Chest. Neither of the two other minority reports recommended exclusion of any of the Chest agencies. The fact that such widely divergent views were expressed by the members of the Citizens' Committee in their final reports meant that the community leaders of Washington were at that point substantially free to consider the changes which would best serve the needs of the city.

Why do we find such gross ignorance on the part of a number of contributors regarding the social welfare programs which they make possible? Why do archaic notions of charity persist instead of the newer concepts of social welfare?

An analysis of some of the causes for the lagging of public education behind the need may be useful in arriving at remedies. First of all, it must be recalled that, because of the long years of the depression in the thirties and the war in the forties, the present period is the first opportunity the public citizen has had to scrutinize fully what his welfare contribution has purchased. The advent of the Social Security program following the depression and the greater number of Community Chest contributors during the war years have meant that a social welfare interpretation program had to bring to larger numbers of people a far more complex welfare picture. These new Community Chest contributors have not experienced either the pioneer zeal of helping people or the irksomeness of the multiple philanthropic appeals as did

contributors of earlier periods. Therefore they do not have the appreciation of the efficiency and lack of duplication which a Chest program in a community achieves. Obviously in many communities the public interpretation programs have not fully reached these contributors through publicity, volunteer participation, or any of the other public relations mediums. In many instances social workers themselves may have failed to discharge their responsibilities in this regard because they are not usually trained in schools of social work to interpret

their work, and all too often annual reports, speeches to service clubs, and work with volunteers are the sum total of public relations programs of individual agencies.

We know that the contributor needs to be given a sense of accomplishment instead of being constantly confronted with a bottomless ocean of unmet needs in which his gift hardly makes a ripple. The challenge is plain.

LOIS SENTMAN

WASHINGTON, D.C.

BOOK REVIEWS

Report on the Employment and Training of Social Workers. By EILEEN L. YOUNGHUSBAND. Dunfermline, Fife: Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1947. Pp. viii + 180.

This report on the range of activities of full-time salaried social workers in Great Britain and on the facilities available for their training was instigated by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees in 1944, when they began to consider what should be their main activities in the early postwar period. Miss Eileen L. Younghusband, of the faculty of the London School of Economics who was engaged to make the study, brings together in her report a most revealing picture of the status of social work and training as the situation existed in 1945. Her most significant recommendation, that improvement of the quality of training for social work would be greatly furthered if a Carnegie School of Social Work on a comprehensive scale were to be established in association with an appropriate university, impressed the Trustees to the extent that a committee of four Trust members, two university members, and three social workers as individual members was appointed to investigate the practical possibilities of the recommendation.

In order to evaluate the existing facilities for the preparation of social workers, the author analyzed the problem into three parts: (a) a descriptive definition of a social worker, (b) the collection of information about all the types of employment of social workers and the outlook for the future demand for their services, and (c) the evaluation of existing forms of training in the light of these findings and suggestions of ways in which deficiencies might be remedied.

For the definition of a social worker, Miss Younghusband refers to American authorities and then concludes: "In addition to being a certain kind of person, the social worker must possess the particular knowledge and skills needed to advise and help the individual and to utilize the social services on his behalf. The basic equipment of the social worker resolves itself into (i) an understanding of man in society, including some study of ethics, (ii) a thorough knowledge of the social services and

local and central government, and of social economics. To this must be added a good grasp of social work principles and some competence to practise in a given field. A worker so equipped can only be a product of a closely inter-related course of theory and practice of sufficient length and quality to produce the desired result." The report as a whole indicates that at this time the British social worker is likely to be thought of in terms of the setting or agency in which she works, whereas we have made progress in differentiating the social worker in terms of her function and the methods she uses in helping individuals, groups, or communities, regardless of setting or agency.

The range of social work positions and the preparation—or lack of it—for such positions are very well presented by general descriptions, supplemented by extensive appendixes (covering more than half the report), which contain detailed analyses of each of the forms of social work. The American reader is interested to find that, while the British Civil Service has not recognized social workers, as such (except for certain inspectorates), the local authorities in education, public health, and public assistance are believed to have increased the employment of social workers at a much more rapid rate than have the voluntary agencies. The problems of preparation of personnel for such services are similar to those in this country; viz., the professional social worker who frequently has been the product of the small voluntary agency often lacks the skill required to administer a large-scale operation and to distinguish the social work function in such a setting. As in this country, also in Great Britain an extreme shortage of qualified social workers is reported for every part of the field, and many persons occupy positions who have no specific preparation for them.

The report reveals, however, considerable difference in the degree of professional development of social work in the United States and Great Britain. Social workers in the United States quite generally accept the assumptions that professional education for social work should rest upon a liberal arts education where

the major has been in the social sciences; that professional education should comprise basic and specialized curriculums covering two academic years of study in a professional school of social work organized for the purpose as a minor division of an accredited university; that an integral part of the curriculum is supervised field work constituting from one-third to one-half of the time of the students and that only applicants should be admitted to the professional school who give promise of suitability for the profession. In contrast to these assumptions are the arrangements in Great Britain, where there is no general agreement upon the content of preparation for the field, either in the universities or among the practitioners as a whole. Sixteen universities or university colleges offer so-called training for social work in social science departments. The admission requirement is usually matriculation in the university but does not include much sifting of the applicants for personal fitness to undertake social work. The two-year curriculum is a combination of social science courses; only five departments were found to be teaching the theory and practice of social work, although "practical work" is an integral part of all the programs before a degree, certificate, or diploma is granted. Most of the courses of study are of less than degree standard. The certificate or diploma which may be awarded is sometimes given by the professional body co-operating with the university in training, such as the Institute of Almoners, or it may be given by the university, or a combination of both. Miss Younghusband points out that some of the confusion would be dissipated if it were accepted that in reality the universities are giving a preprofessional rather than a professional training for social work.

A number of professional groups offer what seems to amount to a third-year course of in-service training after the student leaves the university but usually as a part of his course of study. These include the Institute of Almoners, the Association of Family Case Workers, "moral welfare" training (a kind of protective work under religious auspices), the Home Office Probation Training Scheme, Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs, which prepares for youth leadership.

The recommendations which Miss Younghusband makes would seem sound. In advising that a Carnegie School of Social Work be established as an experiment she suggests a fourfold

purpose. One would be to undertake research, urgently needed since British social workers have had to rely upon American textbooks exclusively, which represent a "society in many ways profoundly unlike" the culture pattern of Great Britain. Research would also contribute to the vitality of the experiment for both faculty and students. A second purpose would be to develop a quality of social work education that is not now available. It would require that the school of social work be a separate school within the university, that it offer a postgraduate course of fifteen months' length to degree students primarily, and that careful selection of candidates, close integration of theory and practice, should characterize the program. The third purpose of the school of social work would be to provide general and refresher courses for social workers, teachers, civil servants, and others whose profession might make such study useful. The final purpose would be to provide facilities for study for social workers from other countries and to make possible an exchange system between British social workers and Continental and American social workers. It is to be hoped that this significant experiment can go forward.

ARLIEN JOHNSON

University of Southern California
Los Angeles

Toward Public Understanding of Casework. By VIOLA PARADISE. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1948. Pp. 242. \$2.00.

This is the story of how one large urban community has worked on the problem of interpreting social case work. The place is Cleveland; the persons involved are case workers, agency executives, volunteers, boards, newspaper men and women, school teachers, children, union members—a diversity of people who are involved in one way or another in the community's welfare; the action covers a range of ways and means—some potential, some realized—by which the public can be helped to understand and support what is called "case-work service." And the material is presented in the engaging and understanding way that makes Viola Paradise herself such a competent interpreter.

For this study of the problems to be dealt with and the means by which social case-work agencies may develop effective public relations,

Cleveland was chosen because of favorable conditions there. Its individual case workers, its welfare federation, and its civic and cultural institutions all were hospitable to the idea of joint projects toward understanding and furthering knowledge of case work. One need not go far into this book, however, before it becomes clear that the projects undertaken, the methods used, the ingenious ideas encountered have ready transferability to other agencies and other communities.

Both of interest and of heartening value to persons engaged in case work were such experiments as these: A public opinion poll was taken of some seven hundred women in Cleveland, and half the questions related to their knowledge and attitudes on case work. (It would have been useful to know what groups this sampling represented, how they were selected, etc.) The questions asked were stimulating; the answers showed that only 3 per cent "regarded social workers unfavorably" and 30 per cent "were outright favorable reactions." As Miss Paradise points out, such a polling, if handled well, can in itself serve to awaken interest and awareness of social work. In Cleveland it was considered newsworthy enough for at least one newspaper to carry a series of articles on it. For social workers themselves, the results yield the comfort that they are not the community stepchildren they often assume themselves to be. Another project was what the author calls "Experiment with Conversations." Here a group of workers from several case-work agencies met together to discuss the person-by-person interpretation which every social-agency worker is faced with in his ordinary social contacts—the business of explaining what you do or what you are to the teasing dinner partner, the respectfully bewildered spouse, the irate contributor, the amiably curious seat mate on a train. Every case worker knows the sense of sinking confusion that overwhelms him at such times—what to choose to tell, what to leave unsaid, how to leave unsaid, how to word it—these and a host of other considerations overwhelm him. Miss Paradise develops some of the problems that underlie these emotions as well as some of the ways by which the questions may be dealt with. Her discussion thrusts the reader into a salutary examination of his own Achilles heel in the matter of interpretation by conversation. A third project of particular interest was one in which a group of case workers and a group of writers—newspaper and public relations per-

sonnel—worked on the problem of defining and describing case work. The results of the two efforts cast considerable light on the ways by which technical knowledge and professional jargon can be translated for common consumption and interest. More than this, a group of persons who are vital to good communication with the public were in close relationship to case workers and case-work thinking. These avenues of interpretation are but a few of those touched upon in this book.

There remains a knotty problem that this book highlights, perhaps unwittingly, a problem which must be resolved in the social work field itself before even so able an interpreter as Viola Paradise can cope with it. It is this: What is our definition of social case work? Reflected in this book is the tendency, strong among private agencies, to separate the idea of case work from that of relief. For example, one reads, "But in recent years casework as something separate from relief has been emerging." Or, quoting a newspaper article, "Quitting relief, family social workers also quit the slums." Is case work "separate" from relief? It is different, to be sure, but not something in contrast. Case work is a method; relief is a material means. The one is a way by which the other may be given or utilized. And by the same token, case work is a method by which those less tangible services, such as marital counseling or child guidance may be provided. This is not merely a play on words. It is a consideration which lies at the very heart of this business of helping the public understand and want social work, within which case work is one method. Still fresh are the wounds of public assistance agencies in different parts of the country which were attacked for, among other things, using the case-work method in their administration of relief. Implied in these criticisms is that some split in thinking of which many social agencies have been guilty—that relief and case work are incompatible. Does case work, like love, fly out the window when poverty flies in? Or does case work stand firm as a method of social service, to be known by its systematic knowledge and process, by which a person's poverty and/or other social hurts can be dealt with? Social agencies have themselves not fully come to grips with whether or not this is what is meant by "case-work." It must be grappled with, both to avoid separatisms in the field and to form the rock base for any sound structure of interpretation.

This little book sets out to provide a stimu-

lus to social case workers and their supporters to seek and find the multitude of opportunities by which the public's ear and mind might be engaged. It offers provocative ideas and demonstrations as to the who, where, when, and how of the interpretive process. It yields a challenging by-product—that the social work field must define its "casework" more clearly and accurately as the first step in helping others to understand it.

HELEN H. PERLMAN

University of Chicago

New Fields of Psychiatry. By DAVID M. LEVY, M.D. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1947. Pp. 171. \$2.75.

In this small volume Dr. Levy has described, in an interesting autobiographical manner, some of his own experiences in the practice of psychiatry from about 1918 to the present day. He introduces the volume as a story of his own personal adventures. It is this personal touch that gives color to what might have been a dull recital of many oft-repeated facts. He portrays the feeling of adventure as he tells of his own enthusiasm and of the excitement of the workers as they pioneered in the child-guidance field, and watched it expand from its application to delinquency into its use in the study of human behavior. He claims credit for Dr. William Healy as the initiator of the American approach to child guidance; what we, now, often designate as the team method of study and work. But also, to Adolph Meyer and Sigmund Freud he credits the initiation of the concept of a human being as an entity rather than as a group of symptoms; a concept out of which the multiple study of one person grew. To explain this method of study of a child, he describes a case of a thirteen-year-old boy referred as a disciplinary problem. Each member of the team contributed his share: the psychiatrist, the information gleaned from a physical examination and an interview; the psychologist, the results of the intelligence tests; and the social worker, the description of the environment from which the boy sprang. In vivid detail, he writes of the give and take of opinions concerning this data which were expressed in the staff meeting. One senses in the telling, a nostalgia for the "old days" when knowledge was less accurate, and theories more numerous, and pioneering more vigorous.

From child guidance, he turns to compara-

tive psychiatry and his study of hens and their "peck order," which he describes as significant because it "illustrates the manner in which many complex problems of human behavior may be resolved into their fundamentals."

With accuracy, but with less personal anecdotes, he describes in following chapters the ways by which psychiatry has influenced education, industry, military medicine, and the selection of war personnel.

Finally, and by far the most interesting to the reviewer because it presents a new use of psychiatry, is the chapter on political psychiatry. In this chapter, he describes the methods of screening personnel in Germany through the denazification centers. The integration of knowledge gained by the political analyst and by the psychiatrist is described. To clarify the various approaches which the psychiatrist used to gain information relative to honesty, true versus verbalized convictions, character reliability, and so forth, he has appended a detailed case study of a certain Herr Stang, who applied for a license as an executive in a publishing firm and who was refused the license as a result of the study.

The book as a whole is delightfully written, is colorful in presentation because of the author's closeness to his work, and presents much historical information which may be of interest to many who have not taken part in the mushroom growth of psychiatry in the last three decades. Especially is the last chapter worthy of study, for it has significant implications relative to the American way of dealing with conquered enemies.

MARGARET W. GERARD, M.D.

Chicago

Studies of Children. Edited by GLADYS E. MEYER. Published for the New York School of Social Work by King's Crown Press, 1948. Pp. 176 \$2.50.

Several students from the New York School of Social Work have presented here their first of a series of student projects in the children's field.

As Miss Hutchinson explains in her Introduction, the limited amount of material produced from the children's field has been due not to disinterest, to incapacity, or to lack of conviction, but largely to the broad area and variety of settings in which the work of helping children is carried on: the school, the church,

the social agency, the union, and health and recreational centers. She calls attention to the predominant theme running through the volume of studies in that the problems of children are directly linked with those of their parents.

This is found to be particularly true in the psychological problems of preschool children presented in the first paper, in which such common problems as feeding, sleep disturbances, constipation, bowel and bladder training, weaning from breast and bottle, fears, and miscellaneous problems as well as behavior problems are discussed and the conclusion reached that mothers need and want help which can be supplied by the Baby Health Station of the New York City Health Station of the New York City Health Department.

The second paper tells of an experiment in storytelling carried on in a small progressive school where those in charge were interested in furthering research in the dynamics of children's behavior. The method followed is carefully described with implications suggested in the reactions of the individual child to the storytelling situation.

The third paper tells of three single women who had become successful foster-mothers. Child-placing agencies seeking to increase their foster-home facilities could well discuss these three cases and consider the opportunities they suggest for special services for younger children and handicapped children. It may be possible that the agencies have missed something in their rejection of single women without carefully considering their potentialities.

The fourth paper, "Telling Adopted Children," has less positive values, although there is little doubt that this too could well serve as a basis for staff discussion. Staff members may then be of help in making a plan for telling the adopted child about his adoption.

Four short abstracts comprise the last forty pages of the book: (1) a description of the meeting of prospective foster-parents with the child selected for placement with them; (2) day nursery care for two-year-olds, a study made to determine which two-year-olds belong in a nursery; (3) girls involved in sex offenses; (4) babies in search of a home, illustrating the various ways in which babies participate in the placement process.

MARY RUTH COLBY

Minneapolis, Minnesota

People and Process in Social Security. By KARL DE SCHWEINITZ. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948. Pp. xi+169. \$2.00.

This little volume is concerned with an analysis of the process by which social security services are administered with the purpose of discovering "the body of knowledge and skill which the personnel who engage in the work employ and to describe it in terms of its implications for education and in-service training." The author defines "process in social security" as "the movement that takes place between the establishment of a purpose (i.e., provision of social security services) and its accomplishment through which what one person in the organization does is related to what every other person in that organization does."

Mr. de Schweinitz set out to discover the elements that were common to the administration of all the social security programs with special emphasis on public assistance, unemployment compensation, and old age and survivors insurance. His conclusions on this point together with his analysis of the desirable educational preparation for effective administration of these programs is the burden of the volume here reviewed. His analysis and conclusions, in the opinion of this reviewer, are sound, useful, and challenging. *People and Process in Social Security* is must reading for all persons engaged in administering social security programs as well as for all teachers and students in schools of social work. Students and teachers in the broader field of public administration will also find the reading of this book a rewarding experience.

The thesis of this book is that there are many common factors in the administration of the several social security programs; all are providing service to people; all of them have a statutory base and require formulation of administrative policy in many areas in which the statute can at most lay down only general intent; all of them, in so far as eligibility requirements are concerned, involve some objective factors for which the applicant himself can supply most or all of the verifications (age, residence, former employer, etc.) and others which demand considerable knowledge and skill on the part of the intake worker and claims agent (need, continued absence of the parent, suitable work, and the fact of dependency upon the deceased worker, in O.A.S.I.); all of them demand of the persons who administer them, to a greater or lesser degree, the same body of knowledge and the

same skills; these desired attitudes, knowledge, and skills, etc., are most likely to be acquired by broad undergraduate education in the social sciences, graduate training in the professional schools of social work, and soundly conceived programs of in-service training after the formal educational preparation has been completed.

While urging the essential unity of the social security program and its requirements with respect to people and process, Mr. de Schweinitz recognizes the similarities between these requirements in the administration of social security programs and other social case-work services, such as child guidance, child protection, child-placing, etc., as well as the wide range of differences between the "process" demands of these latter and the social security programs, and between the various security programs themselves. All these services, he believes, share the problem of "maintaining the responsibility and authority of the individual in the identical area in which its own responsibility and authority must operate." In all these social services the government assumes responsibilities in an area in which the individual continues to have responsibility for himself: financial maintenance, training and rearing of children, etc. How to accomplish the purposes of these services without infringing unduly upon the rights and duties or destroying the independence of the persons involved is a difficult problem to which the author devotes considerable space (pp. 37-61).

Of special interest to case workers is Mr. de Schweinitz' discussion of the possible role and contribution of social case work in the administration of social security programs. Pointing out that case work is widely associated with the concept of "treatment" of persons experiencing "breakdown," the author develops the point that social security—especially the insurances—exists for the purpose of preventing a breakdown in the economic affairs of individuals, and that, therefore, what is most needed is not social treatment but a method and manner of administration that will most likely prevent a breakdown in the recipient. Most social workers will agree with the author's analysis of the role of social work and professional social work education in the administration of social security:

Social insurance derives its inspiration from a different purpose. It exists so that the individual will not experience a breakdown in his economic affairs. The satisfactions of the insurance worker are in his activity in a system through which the individ-

ual can continue to be self-sustaining in the face of what otherwise might be disaster. Interviewer and administrator alike center their attention upon the determination of individual entitlement to benefits and to the provision of a basic security with a maximum of freedom and room for individual initiative. Social insurance recognizes that neither rights nor equity, nor the dignity, responsibility, and freedom of the individual can be maintained without regard for the factor of human relations and is increasingly emphasizing the importance of skill in dealing with people. But such skill must be applied within and through the structure of law and organization in which regard for equity and right, the evaluation of evidence, and the kind of discretionary decisions that are involved in the interpretation of administrative policy, are of prime importance.

Before education for social work could make the contribution in the field of human relations which it undoubtedly has to offer to social insurance, it would need to organize its teaching with a special view to the circumstances within which the insurances operate and to their objectives. It would need to recognize their desire to separate themselves completely from helping as a function while at the same time not failing to be helpful in the service of providing a considerate and understanding administration of eligibility. The school of social work which would include this orientation in its program would have much that would be valuable to the insurances, particularly to the supervisor or to the person preparing for supervision.

Public assistance as a part of the program of social security presents to education for social work a problem not unrelated to that which is inherent in the nature of social insurance. There is increasing emphasis upon an administration of assistance as a service with full recognition of the value of the material benefit in and of itself and with appreciation of the kind of skill in human relations which, operating within and through the structure of administrative policy, works to maintain the security of the individual and to safeguard his freedom and initiative. The public assistance worker who makes this ideal the focus of his interest is likely to find greater satisfactions than the person who feels that he is achieving his professional goal only when engaged in social treatment. While there is occasion to deal with the problem of breakdown and with the person who is prone to have disturbed feelings about his difficulty, the issue which is present in every case is the dilemma of the situation described in chapter iv, in which, "while the state assumes the responsibility for the maintenance of the individual, the individual does not cease to be responsible for himself." Education for social work has its greatest value for public assistance when it points toward a goal which is present in the relationship with every individual who seeks assistance—an administration of benefits and related services so conducted that the self-dependence of the individual is conserved

and his self-respect sustained. Such an administration is not foreign to social case work in any area which has its focus in the strengths rather than in the pathology of the individual and which emphasizes the skillful provision of a specific service or services rather than a general treatment of personal maladjustment. The Careerist who seeks to attain to an optimum competence in a public assistance so conceived will require a skill and a self-discipline in all the activities which comprise his day-by-day routine equal to that demanded in any other form of social case work.

Most social workers would wish that Mr. de Schweinitz had applied to all social case work, not just to social security administration, the desirability of focusing on "the strengths rather than the pathology of the individual," and on emphasizing "the skillful provision of a specific service or services rather than a general treatment of personal maladjustment." Modern case work in every setting focuses upon the strengths possessed by the individual and directs itself toward pathology only when it stands in the way of a person's using his strengths. While there are undoubtedly exceptions to this type of case-work emphasis, it might be said that both social case work and Mr. de Schweinitz have moved a long way since the appearance of a book entitled *The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble*.

The readers of this book will be grateful to the author for his sound and provocative analysis of the desirable personal and professional qualifications required of persons who undertake to administer social security programs. While the sections devoted to analysis of the "process" of that administration seem equally useful, they are less fully developed. Teachers of social welfare administration will wish that Mr. de Schweinitz had elaborated somewhat the process of administrative supervision, policy formation or what is referred to as "enforceable requirements," "objective specifications," and "determining considerations." Teachers, students, and administrators would like to have spelled out in some detail the process by which the Bureau of Public Assistance developed the "enforceable requirement" of unrestricted money payments, "objective specifications" regarding fair hearing and residence, and by which the agencies have developed the "determining considerations" which they use to determine what is "suitable work," "adequate assistance," "suitable home," "continuing absence of a parent," physical or mental incapacity, etc. The

present volume barely offers a peek at process with respect to these vital matters.

ALTON A. LINFORD

University of Chicago

Children of the People: The Navaho Individual and His Development. By DOROTHEA LEIGHTON, M.D., and CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, Ph.D. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. xi + 277. \$4.50.

To paraphrase the summary statement on the jacket: The aim of this study of the Navaho as an individual is to bring together all that is known of Navaho psychology or personality. The authors survey typical personality traits and explain them in terms of Navaho customs, child-rearing practices, and the pressures upon Navahos by the contemporary problems they face. A report is included on a testing program carried out by psychologists, psychiatrists, and anthropologists upon several hundred Navaho children. "Never before has a many-sided testing program been applied to so many children from a 'primitive' group."

The book was written as a part of the Indian Education Research project undertaken jointly by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago and the United States Office of Indian Affairs.

The study can be properly characterized as authoritative, comprehensive, and skilfully planned, executed, and presented. It is designed to serve those who work intimately with the Navaho and should have a thorough knowledge and understanding of what they do and why they do it. General readers may find the detail minute and have a feeling that the authors know and have presented more about the Navaho than most of us know about the white people of the communities in which we live. The book, however, was not prepared for the general reader and was not designed to show popularly contrasts and degrees of difference. It portrays in detail, with many case studies of individual families, the way of life in all its significant aspects.

The results of the many-sided testing program deserve wide reading and careful study. Conditions among the Navaho result in a high death rate, and hence the children examined are survivors in a rigorous economy. Mentally and physically they compare favorably with white children. In tests to determine physical defects children from three different sections of the reservation were examined. Defects were least numerous among the children from the

poorest and most primitive section and highest among those from the section where earnings were best and where white ways had tended to supplant the old ways. The superiority of the primitive diet and the sparse population with its relative freedom from germ-caused disease are suggested as possible explanations by Dorothea Leighton, M.D., who personally made all the physical examinations. She concludes the discussion of fitness with: "As to the children's physical fitness, then, one could say that they do not seem to be seriously handicapped here any more than they are in regard to their intellectual endowment."

The Brookings Institution

LEWIS MERIAM

Lawyers, Law Schools, and the Public Service.

By ESTHER LUCILLE BROWN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1948. Pp. 258. \$3.00.

The writer, in her usual clear, persuasive, thoughtful fashion, has addressed herself to the "question of how the law school may minister more effectively to the education of those many thousands of law-trained persons who will subsequently find themselves legislators, judges and members—on the policy-making levels—of the executive branch of government, or who, as lawyers outside the government, will nevertheless exert large influence over it." To the criticism that "were professional training oriented toward the needs of the public service, it would be done at the expense of those numerically more important lawyers who enter and remain in the private practice of law," she argues that "the private lawyer of the future can ill afford . . . to be unaware of what the government lawyer must know." Her goal is "suggestions for enlarged and enriched ways of looking at law and its social function and at the art of the lawyer." And she marshals supporting statements of deans, members of law faculties, and others interested in the subject.

Part I is called "Important Role Played by Lawyers in Official Positions." "Lawyers do serve the government as well as private clients and the attainment of high position carries with it a serious obligation to serve the public with intelligence and competency, as well as with integrity and unselfishness."

Part II describes the "Nature of Work Done by Lawyers in Federal Agencies": It is an interesting collection of jobs and duties. It makes the point that "the lawyer, as the interpreter of the laws or as the framer of new laws and

regulations has a very great place, and his role in the formulation and effectuation of policy, in which he plays a leading part, is closely linked to that of other officials."

Part III, which covers more than half the volume, focuses attention on "Implications for Legal Education." It is said to be the law school which should do something about the matter. But it must be a new look at the law. "The case-by-case examination of selected judicial opinions and statutes cannot furnish adequate training" to deal with "intricate and important problems for which a solution must be found." Implicit in the reform is "the integration of many viewpoints at the point of action." The author elaborates "the planning and advisory process"; "the review and interpretive process"; "the drafting process"; "the process of organizing and operating legal and often non-legal programs."

The climax of the argument leads to questions of finances for law schools and a planned curriculum—"a working Plan which has been democratically formulated through the joint efforts of the faculty and to which at least a majority of the faculty subscribes." "The Plan should stress the affirmative purpose of law."

In this country few would deny the government bureau a fair chance to obtain adequate legal assistance of the sort needed to solve its problems. A government bureau may be a client just as may a legal aid applicant, a person of moderate means, a small-business man, an old lady with a modest estate to last her during her declining years, a big-business man. The reviewer has difficulty in concluding that any one group of clients is entitled to a preference. However when that client group requires specially trained lawyers, there is need for maintaining a careful balance in our thinking.

Some day a profound scholar will untangle the conflicting and adverse loyalties of the law school and will point out which has priority. Until that moment the reviewer finds himself supporting the proposition that the student is the most important "client" of the law faculty. He comes to us pondering a question, "Do I want to be a lawyer at all?" Later on he faces still another question, "In what field of law do I want to spend my professional life?" If we listen exclusively to the able and persuasive arguments from any group of our fellow-citizens except the student, we run the risk of doing irreparable injury not only to our charges but to the public which ultimately they will be called to serve. A broad educational base is

necessary in the first place if the student is to answer in professional fashion these two questions. If by premature specialization we fail to provide that factor of breadth, the student may find that someone else has made his decision for him; or that his mind is warped and stunted; or that he has been "forced" and mellowed before he matures. "Breadth" is not necessarily to be obtained by packing courses like sardines into a three-year curriculum. That course produces not an "enriched" program but one that is indigestible. The student is required to take either course A or course B when he should have them both. One wonders how many present law graduates in moments of introspection feel that they are at best half baked.

And yet the law schools cannot ignore weighty loyalties to those who call for specialists. The solution which impresses the reviewer is not only the increase in finances and the adoption of a plan as suggested by Dr. Brown. Time and consequent opportunity for timing seem to offer the key.

One dogmatically asserts that: three years is not long enough to produce a competent general practitioner—no one should be allowed to specialize in law until he has demonstrated competence as a general practitioner. If these points are true, then law schools should adopt a plan for a lifelong educational program offering lawyers what they may need at any time. A man might "graduate" when he had done three years' work and was ready to enter general practice. But if he wanted at any time thereafter to go into a specialized field, courses or some sort of appropriate graduate instruction should be available in a standard law school. The resulting increase in quality of legal service to everyone alike would readily make itself felt, and problems of financing should melt away.

If the proposal to train lawyers for the public service is postponed until, first, they are lawyers, one may anticipate much value from it.

JOHN S. BRADWAY

Duke University

The Progressive Movement of 1924. By KENNETH CAMPBELL MACKEY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. 298. \$3.75.

This volume is a careful study of the third party movement of 1924 under the leadership of Robert M. La Follette. Many interesting details of this movement are presented, and the material will be found useful to any study of

of the American party system. However, the last few pages giving a brief interpretation of the American party system are disappointing and in fact out of line with the rest of the book. The author seems to become another person in his bitter characterization of the American party system and its role in our democratic life.

While the author's political philosophy limps sadly, the chief weakness of the volume is the failure to connect the campaign of 1924 with the development of the earlier La Follette movement, culminating in the La Follette campaign of 1912 and the organization of the Progressive Party under Theodore Roosevelt. It is almost impossible to understand the campaign of 1924 without consideration of the Bull Moose campaign of 1912. Furthermore, the inside story of the La Follette movement is yet to be told and will be fully developed only when the biography of La Follette based upon his papers and documents is finally published by his daughter.

On the whole this book is a useful contribution to our knowledge of the democratic movement in the United States.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

University of Chicago

Medicine Today: The March of Medicine, 1946. The Eleventh Series of Lectures of the Laity Held at the New York Academy of Medicine. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. 177. \$2.00.

This volume presents seven lectures on current issues in medicine, individual medical service, and public health by such leaders in these fields: Drs. Fulton (Yale), Rappleye (Columbia), Maclean (Rochester, N.Y.), Cohn (Harvard), Rogers (New York State Department of Health), and Clark (United States Public Health Service). The presentations are factual, clear, and challenging. The volume measures up to the excellent standard set by the New York Academy of Medicine's publication on *Medicine and the Changing Order*. Colleagues in the social sciences will be particularly interested in the chapters on "The General Practitioner," "The Layman's Part in Preventive Medicine," and "Economics and Medicine." But the entire volume is of great significance to all laymen and not beyond the understanding and mastery of the high-school graduate. "Good health cannot ever be attained by legislation alone." "This volume will help its readers to appreciate the enormous complexity of the social problems that still remains to be solved, if better medical care is to be better distributed among our people" (Dr. Gooderidge, Introduction).

A. J. CARLSON

University of Chicago

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Report of the Special Committee on Social Welfare and Relief of the Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation. (New York State Legislative Document, 1947, No. 60.) Albany, 1947. Pp. 91.

The New York State Legislature on March 26, 1947, directed the Special Committee on Social Welfare and Relief of the Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation to continue its study of the welfare services of the state. This document contains interim reports of studies carried on in 1946 and 1947 by two subcommittees—one on adult institutional care and the other on foster-care.

The sixty-three pages devoted to the interests of the first subcommittee present a somewhat discouraging picture of adult institutional care in terms of inadequate resources, lack of trained personnel, failure to co-operate, necessity of working out an over-all community program for the older group, and the slow process of helping institutions both public and private to become aware of changing needs and newer methods. On the other hand, the interest of the legislature and of the State Department of Social Welfare in the problem, as well as the progress which the state and some of the localities have made, is extremely encouraging. The decades of unplanned, unco-ordinated, unsupervised development of care for the adult in institutions is rapidly giving way to a program based on a more scientific approach to the entire situation, and this *Report* is indicative of the change that is occurring.

Beginning with a summary of the findings and an analysis of the characteristics and needs of the institutional group, the adult institutions of the state are discussed. Public homes, of which there are sixty-two in the state, are rapidly changing and are "becoming institutions specializing in the care of the aged, disabled and handicapped, both those needing custodial care and those needing attendant service and medical supervision." The provision of a social worker who can bring to the residents of the institution the social resources of the community is strongly emphasized.

A veterans home, the 198 private homes for the aged, private homes for the blind and deaf, the public shelters in New York City and Buffalo, and the 78 private shelters in the state are discussed, and the need for further emphasis on rehabilitative programs is stressed.

Several pages are devoted to the development of nursing homes, the number of which is not known, though 455 were certified in December, 1946, as being used for the care of recipients of public assistance for which the locality wished state reimbursement. Except for seven cities and one county in which licensing is a legal requirement, no further control exists.

Under the discussion of auxiliary services for the care of needy adults, the possibilities of "administrative merging" of the services of trained and practical nurses and of visiting housekeepers in some areas is suggested as a temporary or even long-term alternative for institutional care.

In concluding, the *Report* states that

the findings of this interim report show the need for joint public and private planning to determine the amount of institutional care needed and available; to develop standards to measure and insure the quality of care provided; to coordinate institutional care with other health and welfare programs; to consider financial problems; and to meet the challenges presented by the need to provide suitable care for such groups as the senile, the psychotic and the alcoholic.

The report of the Subcommittee on Foster Care of Children presents an interesting summary of the development of care for children in New York State, beginning with the activities of the early Dutch. The size of the present-day problem is indicated by the 40,262 children under foster-care provided by county and city departments of public welfare and by veteran assistance agencies in the latter part of 1946. The regulatory and supervisory controls operating in the state are outlined.

The study is proceeding, according to the *Report*, in a number of areas selected as representative of the total situation. At the time the report of the committee was drafted, several of

these studies had been completed. A description of the method used is given. Some of the problem areas are suggested "tentatively." The overlapping powers and responsibilities of departments of public welfare and the children's courts is indicated as one field that needs careful consideration. Financing and detention care are universal problems. Authorized child-placing agencies are estimated to be making but 20 per cent of all adoption placements per year. Personnel, on which depends the quality of care and supervision provided children in foster-homes, varies greatly in academic and professional preparation, and case loads are generally too high for efficient work.

The committee is interested in emphasizing the various types of community services which make it possible for more children to remain in their own homes. The *Report* concludes with the following:

Avoidance of foster care calls for a review of community facilities for the guidance of pre-delinquent children, counselling of parents in near-neglect situations, counselling with unwed parents as to plans for their children, children's court procedures in relation to commitment of children to foster care, probation services to delinquent and other children, general family case work services and the like.

Assemblyman Harold C. Ostertag is chairman of the Committee on Interstate Cooperation as well as of the Special Committee on Social Welfare and Relief. The drafting of legislation by these committees when the studies are finally completed will be followed with great interest by social workers. Already far-reaching recommendations have been submitted to the legislature by Mr. Ostertag's committee.

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Planning for the Care of the Chronically Ill in New York State—Some Medical-Social Aspects. NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION TO FORMULATE A LONG RANGE HEALTH PROGRAM, also known as New York State Health Preparedness Commission. Albany, 1947. Pp. 131.

This report is essentially a series of five brief monographs related to the care of the chronically ill. The State Commission for which these inquiries were conducted is a body composed of ten legislators, the two commissioners of health

and welfare, five "non legislative" members, of whom two are physicians and one is Elsie M. Bond, secretary of the commission, who has been a beneficent lobbyist of great distinction in Albany. She represented the State Charities Aid Association throughout many legislative sessions and conducted the legislative information service for a long period.

The first of the monographs is a summary of the opinions collected in 1945 of eighty-three local commissioners of public welfare and twenty-six other persons together with some data derived from another inquiry made by this commission in 1944. These opinions and data relate to the contributions to the care of the chronically ill made by what are called "between hospital and home facilities," convalescent homes, nursing homes, county or city public homes, voluntary homes for the aged, and supervised boarding homes. These opinions are both tabulated into summary statistical tables and quoted profusely with a notation of their authorship. This chapter briefly reviews the ways in which institutions of the types listed above became involved in a program for the care of the chronically ill.

The subject is by no means a simple one. The conditions of the chronically ill and infirm aged range all the way from those of persons who can be cared for, if they have no homes of their own, in a homelike boarding-house, to those who require services of people who can be relied upon to care humanely for the hopelessly bedridden, the tractable but irresponsible mental patient, and the sane but disagreeable, incapacitated old person, with all degrees of illness short of that requiring care in a general hospital. In a subject so diffuse, the opinions naturally reflect the varying experience of the reporting persons and relate to a wide variety of aspects of these several kinds of facilities.

The second monograph reviews ways and means of developing resources capable of a proper performance in the interests of the chronically ill who must be cared for away from their own homes. In the main, the encouragement of the growth of these facilities lies in the financial resources flowing into the hands of recipients of public assistance, since the likelihood of voluntary charity being able or willing to operate to any great extent in this field is regarded as negligible. The control of abuse lies in the powers of public licensing of institutions operating within this field and in the powers exercised by public welfare and inspectional bodies over the speci-

fications and criteria used by those contracting for the care of dependent persons.

One of the most hopeful and reassuring signs of advance in local welfare administration to which attention is called here, is the transformation of city and county "homes" into institutions for the care of the sick and in an extension of services to include patients able to pay. When such institutions not only are equipped to serve the paying patient but are also used for those in receipt of public assistance with state and federal reimbursement, powerful levers will have been applied to pry them out of the old ruts, and the almshouses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will have been finally liquidated. The only groups left for whom provision must be made are the alcoholics and the drug addicts. Several of those submitting suggestions called attention to the need of medical institutions to treat these groups.

Chronically ill people sometimes have acute phases which require "full medical care" with specialists and the same technical facilities required by the acutely ill. At these times they need general hospital service. The third monograph is concerned with the "viewpoint" of 139 administrators of public and voluntary general hospitals throughout the state but not in New York City. The hospital program of that community is so overwhelmingly large and complex it was wise not to have tried to combine consideration of it with that of the rest of the state.

The administrators of these general hospitals reported widely divergent policies with regard to the admission of chronically ill patients. Some thirty of the superintendents thought the general hospital had no responsibility for persons afflicted with these conditions; sixty admitted a limited responsibility; twenty-four mentioned no restriction; and twenty-five said nothing. One reported that over 30 per cent of the hospital beds in his hospital were in use for patients of this type. Those who did not accept chronic patients reported that this policy grew out of the belief that the chronically ill would require an inordinate number of beds and an undue amount of time of the student nurses. One reported that in the case of chronic patients "most nurses tire very quickly." Some of the superintendents indicated an acceptance of the idea that the care of the chronically ill is as much the duty of a medical institution enjoying wide community support as is the care of the acutely ill. Many of the superintendents whose hospitals were caring for chronics stated

that difficulties were encountered in the discharge of these patients when there was nothing more that the hospital could do but when there was no place else to which the patient could go for domiciliary care.

The last two monographs in this report are concerned with the programs of other states: Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, and with the licensing of nursing homes in other states in 1946. These are useful compendiums. Among the state policies one stands out uniquely. It is the only clear acceptance of all impairments of health, including the disabilities of the aged, as a concern of the public health authorities. The state of Indiana has recognized a public responsibility not only "to coordinate, promote, interpret and ascertain facts on senility and ultimately plan for the proper care of the chronically ill but it is also concerned with the prevention and amelioration of the mental, medical, and social ravages and with fostering the continued productiveness of the aged."

This document is sound, humane, tactful, doubtless accurate to the last digit and footnote reference, but it is admittedly repetitious and unlikely to engage the interest of one not an already convinced believer.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF

Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York

Social Security Yearbook, 1946: Annual Supplement to the Social Security Bulletin. FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947. Pp. 60. \$0.25.

Budgetary cuts affecting the printing funds of the Social Security Administration have reduced the size of the *1946 Social Security Yearbook* to 60 pages compared with the 182 pages in the 1945 edition. Despite the fact that the current issue is reduced in size and has eliminated a great deal of the text discussion and some important material previously included in an appendix, most of the basic statistical series are maintained. A classification of the recent publications of the governmental agency which was included in the 1945 edition has now been excluded, and there is no index whatsoever in the *1946 Yearbook*.

A study made by the Social Security Administration a year ago indicates that many agencies and officials find this publication very helpful and that they would be handicapped in their administration if the publication had to go out of existence. It is hoped that Congress will see the need for this type of basic factual material and will increase its appropriations for publications.

Despite the reduction in size, the 60 pages in the 1946 *Yearbook* include 72 important and interesting tables of statistical data with brief text discussions. In addition to some material under the heading "Social Security in the Economy," the publication covers data concerning the following four major programs: old age and survivors insurance, unemployment insurance, employment service, and public assistance. Some of the material had been published previously in the monthly bulletins of the Social Security Administration, but the annual review presents the data in summary form and permits annual as well as geographic comparisons. The tables give rather complete coverage of the operations of the programs during the calendar year, 1946, which was the first full year of reconversion following the close of the war.

The increase in the cost of living put something of a strain on the programs operating on fixed benefit amounts. During the year Congress increased the size of federal grants to states for public assistance, and minor amendments were made in the other programs, but no basic changes were realized.

The total expenditures by all units of government under Social Security programs in the fiscal year 1945-46 were \$6,700,000,000, or \$2,100,000,000 more than in the previous fiscal year, which was the last full war year.

During the year there was an average of more than 40,000,000 insured workers in the old age and survivors insurance program with an average of over 34,000,000 being fully insured; 49,500,000 workers earned wages in employment covered; 1,868,000 persons had benefits in force at the end of the calendar year, receiving a monthly total of over \$35,000,000.

This was an atypical year for unemployment insurance, and about 7,000,000 workers filed claims for benefits with almost 4,500,000 claimants receiving at least one benefit check under state unemployment insurance systems. The postwar peak of unemployment was reached in March during the year and decreased rapidly to November.

During the year, the administration of the state employment services was transferred to the states, so the wartime centralization of this service came to an end. Veterans placements increased greatly and were three times the number placed in 1945.

With the additional financial help provided by Congress for public assistance, the average monthly payments gradually increased during the year. Likewise, the number of assistance recipients in each category increased in comparison with 1945.

These annual statistical summaries published as the *Social Security Yearbook* are valuable to research workers, to teachers, and to others who have a function in developing long-time policies in the broad field of social security. Publications of this type must not be discontinued, lest we go back completely to the age of Galileo in our approach to human problems and needs.

The *Social Security Yearbook* serves as a statistical encyclopedia of basic data and trends in social security programs.

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Helping Children in Trouble. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 320.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947. Pp. 17. \$0.10.

This stimulating pamphlet, which is based on the findings of the Bureau's significant St. Paul experiment in child welfare,¹ gives emphasis and strength to the recognized principle that effective treatment of children with behavior problems means early treatment.

Throughout, the point of view is positive in tone and constructive in intent. The essential idea that children must be helped early is developed by the use of narrative descriptions of four children who received the right kind of help at the right time—a refreshing contrast to the

¹ The full report of the project, which covered the period 1937-43, has been published. See Sybil A. Stone, Elsa Castendyck, and Harold B. Hanson, M.D., *Children in the Community: The St. Paul Experiment in Child Welfare.* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 317.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946. Pp. ix+182. \$0.35.

parade of failures sometimes encountered in the literature of this subject. Likewise, emphasis is placed upon improvements that can be made here and now, such as the early identification of problems that require treatment, and the development of co-ordinated treatment services where needed. In the St. Paul setting, it was made clear that parents, teachers, the police, and others can become more sensitive to indications of treatment needs and that social agencies can work together in harmony.

As one would expect, no panacea is suggested, but it is stated that

... given time, patience, and adequate instruction most of the individuals in the professional groups dealing with children can prevent the development of many problems by adequately meeting the basic needs common to all children and can become invaluable outposts for the early detection of children in need of special services [p. 16].

It is also pointed out that co-ordination of services was achieved. In this connection, valuable work in obtaining better interagency co-operation and understanding was done by liaison workers with experience in more than one field of work with children, such as education and social work. Regarding the necessity for co-ordination of services excellent advice is given: the many community agencies serving children must see their programs in relation to other programs, and

... they must make sure that no child fails to receive a needed service because there are no channels through which his needs can be made known to appropriate agencies or no procedures whereby a number of agencies can work jointly and harmoniously in developing a well-rounded program for him [p. 17].

This is a provocative, useful pamphlet for everyone working with children. It maintains the same high standard of professional competence shown in other Children's Bureau publications. The format, with effective use of colorful line drawings, is interesting and attractive.

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Public Works Programme and Policy. (Union of South Africa Social and Economic Planning Council Report No. 10.) Cape Town, April 16, 1946. Pp. iii+91. 8s. 6d.

Summary of Report No. 10. Cape Town, August, 1947. Pp. 11. 1s.

Legislative bodies are apparently suspicious of planning bureaux in countries other than our own. In Report No. 10, issued in 1946, the Social and Economic Planning Council of the Union of South Africa recommended a method of achieving a practical and specific program of suitable public works. The government chose to ignore this suggestion and adopted instead a different plan, which, in the end, failed to produce the desired result. At that point the Council was requested to produce the detailed program. Lacking the staff to accomplish this, the Council then reduced its first report to an eleven-page summary, which was published in August, 1947. Both the original report and the subsequent summary deal with four questions: (1) clarification of the criteria on which a public works program should be based; (2) assessment of the economic conditions in which the public works program should be applied; (3) review of the program actually proposed by public authorities in the light of these criteria; (4) suggestions for the improvement of the machinery for planning and co-ordinating public works programs in South Africa.

Two sections of these documents are of special interest to social workers, one relating to housing and the other to race relations. The housing crisis is evidently as acute in South Africa as in most other countries throughout the world. The report declares that "since the 1914-18 war, housing for only the upper third of the income group has been profitable enough to induce private enterprise to undertake it." Measures taken by the government up to the present have failed to meet the need. Emphasis has been placed chiefly upon loans by the central government at reduced rates of interest, though in 1944 a plan was consummated whereby the central government would share with the local authority the losses incurred in providing housing for the lower-income groups. The report finds that these schemes, though helpful, are inadequate. A basic defect is that the formula is based on the capital costs of the projects and is not related in any way to family income or family size. The Council recommends a revised formula that will take into account both family composition and income. Local authorities have often proved to be unwilling or unable to provide local subsidies. The Council suggests that the subsidies be paid exclusively by the central government since the need is "a result of national poverty rather than a local responsibility."

The sections of these reports bearing on race relations tend to confirm the statement often heard in this country that this problem is even more acute in South Africa than with us. About 45 per cent of the Natives of the Union live in segregated areas subject to the Native Affairs Department, an agency apparently not unlike our Office of Indian Affairs. Any social or economic gains achieved by the remaining 55 per cent of the Natives must necessarily result from actions of urban or provincial authorities or central departments that exercise specified functional responsibilities. The report clearly reveals that brutal discriminations exist. For example, labor supports both tacit and open restrictions on employment of Natives on skilled work in the building trades. An emergency housing act of 1945 authorizes the government to prohibit restrictions that impede building. The Council recommends that this statute be invoked "to permit Natives to be trained and employed as artisans on the construction of houses for Native occupation." Although adoption of this recommendation would be a step forward, it con-

templates, of course, a perpetuation of Jim Crow-ism. It also accepts the thesis that Natives will be paid less for their work than Europeans. In fact, one of the arguments advanced in support of the recommendation is the need to achieve lower labor costs on Native housing than can be attained at present by use of European (white) labor.

The Council clearly does not like the various kinds of discrimination practiced in South Africa, but faced realistically the need to offer remedies that had some possibility of acceptance. Its long-term objective is suggested by the following statement: "Whatever the future long-term Native policy may be, the Council believes that, in the following decades, the closer integration of the Reserves [segregated areas] into the national economy is imperative."

In documenting its various recommendations, the Council refers repeatedly and at length both to English experiences and to New Deal reforms in the United States.

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